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*To the Right Honourable
William Earl of Besborow
This Plate is humbly Inscribed by his
Lordships most humble & most obedient Servant
Joseph Grove*

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE and TIMES
OF
Cardinal WOLSEY,

Prime Minister to King HENRY VIII.

- | | |
|---|---|
| I. Of his Birth, and the various Steps he took to attain Preferment, connected with Affairs, both Foreign and Domestick, from the Death of EDWARD IV. to the End of the Reign of HENRY VII. | to his Disgrace and Death, including the general Transactions of <i>Europe</i> . |
| II. Of his Conduct and Management while Prime Minister, (commencing with the Reign of HENRY VIII.) and continued by way of Annals | III. Memoirs of the Emperor CHARLES V. HENRY VIII. and FRANCIS I. from the Demise of the Cardinal to their respective Deaths. |
| | IV. The secret History of the Cardinal, by <i>George Cavendish</i> , Esq; his Gentleman Usher; written in the Reign of PHILIP and MARY. |

In which are interspersed

The LIVES and memorable ACTIONS of the most eminent Persons: And the whole illustrated with POLITICAL and MORAL Reflections.

Collected from antient RECORDS, MANUSCRIPTS, and HISTORIANS.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. CIC.

Oh fatal Love of Fame! Oh glorious Heat!

Only destructive to the Brave and Great.

ADDIS.

V O L. IV.

Adorned with CUTS, and a compleat INDEX.

L O N D O N:

Printed, by J. PURSER, for the AUTHOR;
And sold by J. and P. KNAPTON, W. MEADOWS, E. LEWIS,
D. BROWNE, J. STAGG, J. CLARKE, S. AUSTEN, T. ASTLEY,
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M D C C X L I V.

THE
HISTORY OF

OF THE
LIFE AND TIMES OF
JAMES O'NEILL

By JAMES O'NEILL
Author of "The Life of James O'Neill"
and "The Life of James O'Neill"

THE
LIFE OF
JAMES O'NEILL
By JAMES O'NEILL

Printed by J. J. Moore
and Co. New York
1880

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM, Earl of
HARRINGTON,
LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL,
THIS
FOURTH VOLUME
OF THE
LIFE and TIMES
OF
Cardinal WOLSEY,

Is Most Humbly DEDICATED,

BY

His Lordship's

Most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

J. GROVE.

WILLIAM, EARL OF
RIGHT HONOURABLE
TO THE

HARRINGTON,
Lord President of the Council,

THIS
FOURTH VOLUME

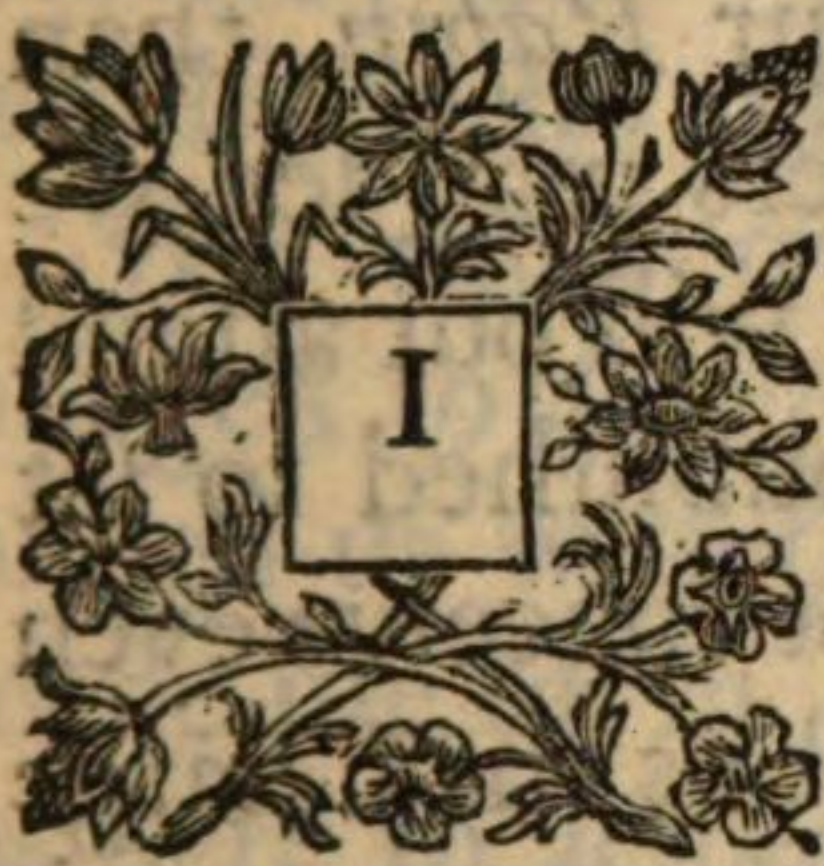
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THE P R E F A C E.

N our *Third Volume* we left the CARDINAL in a most exalted Sphere of ministerial Action, and Splendor, and in the greatest Esteem with his Royal Master. In this we have descended with him, from his Zenith of Glory to his Dismissal from Court, where we behold him as much neglected as he was before carested, and as much vilified as before applauded : Though we have seen no Reason for that mighty Indignation, which caused this extream Change ; but are fully convinced, that, when the Glory given to him was removed, his Integrity had not departed from him, and that he was in himself as meritorious as ever.

The Observation in the following Line,

Regis ad exemplum, totus componitur orbis,

was too fatally verified in the undeserved Fall and Treatment this great Man met with : We learn, however, from hence two useful Lessons ; the one,

one, the *Vanity of human Greatness*; the other, the *Variableness of human Judgments*.

As we have had Occasion, in several Places, to mention the Reasons that induced us to undertake the Compiling *this History*, we shall not here repeat them: But only observe, that, notwithstanding some Errors may have slipped us, we hope there will not appear any but such as are common; that, we are not conscious to ourselves of any partial Fondnesses for our principal Character, nor of any undue Severities towards his Enemies, either dead or living; that tho' we have taken more Freedom with Monsieur *Rapin*, than with any other Author, our Readers may see we were not the first who did so, if they will but attend the many Pieces that have been published to set forth his Mistakes; and that we do not conceive even the most Cenforious can bring against us the Charge of undertaking this Publication with a *mercenary View*, especially as there could be no Hopes of *Family Gratifications*, in vindicating the Character of one who was the first and last Person in his, of any the least Consequence or Distinction.

After having spoke of the many Circumstances relating to his Disgrace, and attended him both in his Retirement from the World, and his final Departure out of it, we were brought to the MEMOIRS with which this Volume and this Work is concluded, and dispatched them with as much Conciseness as possible.

And we cannot but here hint, that we have been at a much larger Expence about this Collection, than our *Subscriptions* have hitherto answered; though we are not uneasy on that Account, because,

because, in discharge of our Obligations to the Encouragers of it, we have afforded them more Matter and a greater Number of Embellishments than is usually given, or might reasonably be expected.

In this Volume will be further seen what Use has been made of *ancient Records*, and other valuable *Letters* and *Papers*, many of which are preserved in the *Exchequer Record-office*: And, as to our taking so many large Quotations from the inimitable *Shakespear*, we say, that, finding him so full of fine Imagery, in Relation to our CARDINAL, &c. we thought some of his Scenes would be no disagreeable Parts in our History.

We must own too, that we are particularly obliged to several worthy Gentlemen, who furnished us with *Original Letters*, or other Matters, made use of in the Course thereof; which leads us here to acquaint our Readers, that the CARDINAL had another *Dignity* in the Church, which had escaped us, till communicated by a Gentleman (while the *Index* to this Volume was printing off) in these Words,

TO MR. GROVE.

S I R,

*A*Mong the many Preferments, which Cardinal Wolsey enjoyed, I do not find any of our Historians mention that of the Deanry of Saint Stephens, Westminster. As you would probably take Occasion to mention this in your History, I give you the Trouble of this Letter.

On the 3d of October, Anno 4to, Hen. 8. the King, by Letters Patents, granted the next Turn
in

in the Deanry of St. Stephens to Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and George, Earl of Shrewsbury, who, on the 18th of October, in the same Year, presented Thomas Wolcy, the King's Almoner, and he was admitted and instituted into it by John, Abbot of Westminster.

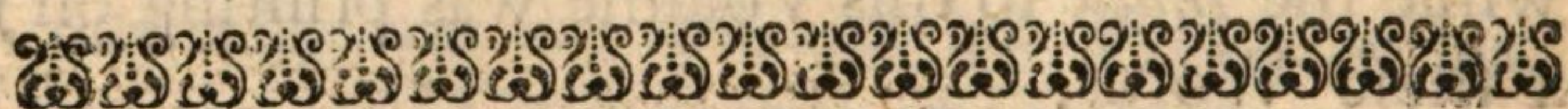
*This appears by an Entry in the Register, or Lease-books, of the Church of Westminster. In the same Book is a long Particular of the Ceremony * observed when Wolsey received his Cardinal's Cap, and is thus intitled, ——— Forma Instructionis jam a Lxxv Annis, observat super Transmissione Capelli rubei & Annuli ad novem CARDINALEM.*

26th of June,

1744.

I am, Sir, &c.

* See Vol. II. Pag. 290.

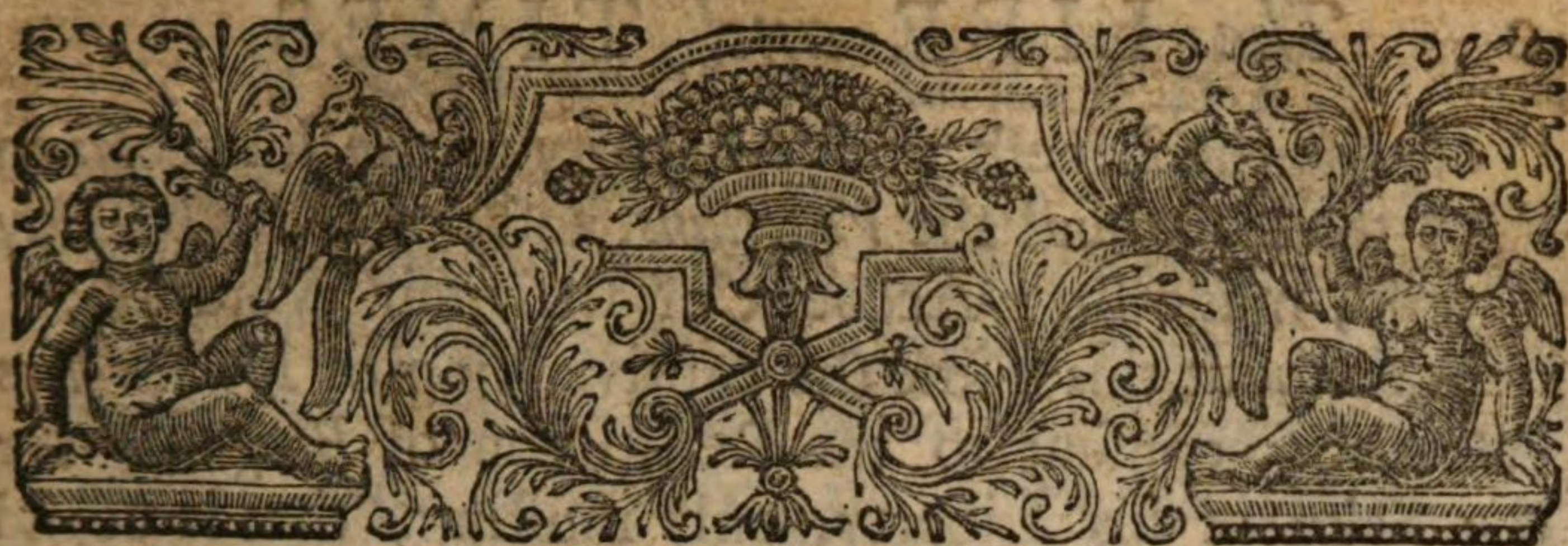


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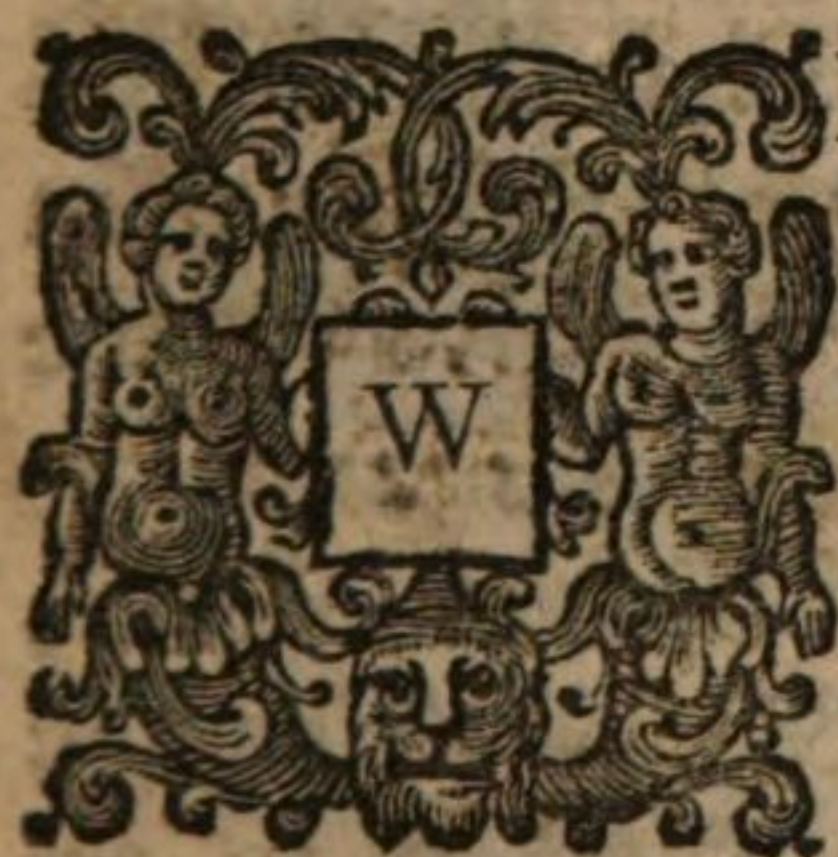
VOL. II. Page 1, Line 6, for *about Eighteen*, read *not Seventeen*; p. 17, l. 13, f. *3d of March*, r. *3d of June*.

VOL. III. Page 361, in the Note, Col. 2, Line 19, f. *one Barnes*, r. *one Harness*.

VOL. IV. Page 6, in the Note, Col. 1, l. 20, f. *on his own Horse*, r. *to his own House*; p. 10, in the Note, Col. 1, l. 8, for *Who thought*, r. *Who little thought*; p. 15, l. 2, f. *Chency* r. *Cheney*; p. 51, in the Note, Col. 1, l. 16, f. *Friends*, r. *Enemies*; p. 80, in the Note, Col. 2, l. 16, f. 1537, r. 1534; p. 160, l. 21, f. *Princess*, r. *Princesses*; p. 180, l. 2, f. *Philip the VIIth*, r. *the IIId*; p. 184, in the Note, Col. 2, l. 7, f. *repose*, r. *repair*; p. 207, l. 21, f. *mute Masters*, r. *Moot-masters*; p. 288, in the Note, Col. 2, l. 2, f. 1741, r. 1714. MEMOIRS, p. 20, l. 17, f. *ever*, r. *even*.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE and TIMES
OF
Cardinal WOLSEY.



WE concluded our Third Volume with taking notice of a Conspiracy against his Imperial Majesty and the *Spanish* Forces at *Milan*. The Beginning of the Year, 1526, the Commendary *Herara* returned from *Rome* to *Madrid*, and brought Letters from Pope *Clement* the VIIth, written with his own Hand, to the Emperor, in which he laboured to clear himself of the Imputation of having any Hand in the Conspiracy, by laying the Fault on the Marquis of *Pescara*, and *Ferome Moreton*; and entreated the Emperor to pardon *Sforza*, and restore him to his Dominions of *Milan*: But, says the *Spanish* Writers, “ the Emperor, knowing that the Duke would

*Affairs of Spain,
France, England,
and Italy.
1526.*

“ ascribe the Benefit of his Liberty to the Intercession
 “ of the Pope and the *Venetians*, and not to his Mercy
 “ only, made little Account of their fair Words.”

Also about this Time the captive King of *France* was brought to consent to the Restitution of *Burgundy* for the Sake of his Liberty, only insisting, that it could not be performed till some Time after he was free, because the People would never deliver it whilst he was a Prisoner; but, for Security of the Performance, he agreed to deliver his two eldest Sons as Hostages. Though the Emperor thought good to take the Advice of his Council upon so important an Affair, yet, finding their Opinions so very different one from the other, as not to be reconciled, he resolved to release the King upon such Terms as could be had. Accordingly the Treaty was concluded and signed, on the 14th of *January* at *Madrid*, by which Peace and Amity seemingly was established between *Charles* the Vth and *Francis* the 1st. The chief Articles of which were,

“ That the King of *France* should marry Queen
 “ *Eleanora*, the Emperor's Sister, and have with her
 “ 200,000 Crowns in Gold.—That he should be set
 “ at Liberty on the 10th of *March*, and then deliver
 “ his two Sons as Hostages.—That he should
 “ resign to the Emperor the Dutchy of *Burgundy* in
 “ full Sovereignty.—That he should give up the
 “ Homage the Emperor owed for *Flanders* and *Ar-*
 “ *tois*.—That he should renounce all Claim to *Naples*,
 “ *Milan*, *Asti*, *Tournay*, *Lisle*, *Hesdin*, &c. —That he
 “ should endeavour to persuade *Henry d'Albert* to re-
 “ sign the Kingdom of *Navarre* to the Emperor, or at
 “ least should give him no Assistance.---That within
 “ 40 Days he should restore the Duke of *Bourbon*,
 “ and all his Party to their Estates.—That he should
 “ restore *Philbert de Chalons*, Prince of *Orange*, and
 “ *Michael Antonio de Saluzzo* to their Principality.—
 “ That he should give no sort of Assistance to the
 “ Duke of *Guelders*, and, after that Prince's Death,
 “ use

“ use his best Endeavours to cause his Towns to fall
 “ into the Emperor’s Hands.—That he should pay the
 “ King of *England* 500,000 Crowns which the Em-
 “ peror owed him.—That, when the Emperor should
 “ go to *Italy*, to receive the Imperial Crown, he
 “ should send him 12 Gallies, four large Ships, and
 “ a Land Army, or 200,000 Crowns instead of the
 “ Army.—Lastly, he promised, upon the Word and
 “ Honour of a Prince, to execute all these Articles, or
 “ to return Prisoner into *Spain* within six Months.”

To

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,
 by GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq; his Gentleman-
 Usher.

CHAP. XV.

*Of the King’s Discovery of his Love to Mistress Anne Bulloigne to
 the Cardinal, with the Cardinal’s Dislike, and also the Opinion of
 all learned Bishops in England, and foreign Universities.*

“ AFTER this be-
 “ gan new Matters
 “ which troubled
 “ the Heads and
 “ Imaginations of
 “ all the Court, wherewith all
 “ their Stomachs were full, but
 “ little Digestion, viz. the long-
 “ concealed Affection of the
 “ King to Mistress *Anne Bul-*
 “ *loigne* now break out, which his
 “ Majesty disclosed to the Cardi-
 “ nal, whose often Persuasions on
 “ his Knees took no Effect.
 “ My Lord thereupon being
 “ compelled to declare to his
 “ Majesty his Opinion and Wif-
 “ dom in the Advancement of
 “ the King’s Desires, thought it
 “ not safe for him to wade too
 “ far alone, or to give rash Judg-
 “ ment in so weighty a Matter,
 “ but desired Leave of the King
 “ to ask Counsel of Men of an-
 “ tient and famous Learning both
 “ in divine and civil Laws.
 “ Now this being obtained, he
 “ by his Legatine Authority sent
 “ out his Commissions for the
 “ Bishops of this Realm, who
 “ not long after assembled all at
 “ *Westminster* before my Lord
 “ Cardinal. And not only these
 “ Prelates, but also the most
 “ learned Men of both *Univer-*
 “ *sities*, and some from divers Ca-
 “ thedral Colleges in this Realm,
 “ who were thought sufficiently
 “ able to resolve this doubtful
 “ Question.
 “ At this learned Assembly
 “ was the King’s Case consulted
 “ of,

To confirm this Treaty, *Francis* and his Ambassadors swore, by the Sacraments and the Holy Evangelists, to keep it all Days of his Life, and not to give Counsel to, or favour any one that should break it.

At this Time *Charles* was under great Perplexities, besides those already mentioned: He knew, that the Princes and *Hans Towns* of *Germany*, that had embraced *Luther's* Doctrine, began to take Measures to secure themselves from the Calamities they were daily threatened with. To this was added the Dread of

a

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

of, debated, argued, and judged from Day to Day. But in conclusion, when these antient Fathers of Law and Divinity parted, they were all of one Judgment, and that contrary to the Expectation of most Men. And I heard some of the most famous and learned amongst them say, the King's Case was too obscure for any Man, and the Points therein were doubtful to have any Resolution therein, and so at that time with a general Consent departed, without any Resolution or Judgment.

In this Assembly of Bishops and divers other learned Men, it was thought very expedient that the King should send out his Commissioners into all Universities in Christendom, as well here in *England*, as foreign Regions, there to have this Case argued substantially, and to bring with them from thence every Definition of their Opinions of the same, under the Seal of every University, and thus for this Time were their Determinations.

And thereupon divers Commissioners were presently appointed for this Design: So some were sent to *Cambridge*, some to *Oxford*, some to *Lorraine*, others to *Paris*, some to *Orleans*, others to *Padua*, all at the proper Costs and Charges of the King, which in the whole amounted to a great Sum of Money: And all went out of this Realm, besides the Charge of the Ambassage to those famous and notable Persons of all the Universities, especially such as bear the Rule, or had the Custody of the University Seals, were fed by the Commissioners with such great Sums of Money, that they did easily condescend to their Requests, and grant their Desires.

By reason whereof all the Commissioners returned with their Purpose, furnished according to their Commissions under the Seal of every several University, whereat there was no small Joy conceived of the principal Parties. Infomuch that ever after the Commissioners

a *Turkish* Invasion in *Hungary*, the *Turks* becoming every Day more powerful : So that, in all likelihood, if *Francis* had not been so very hasty, the Emperor would have rather desisted from *Burgundy*, than have been exposed to so many Enemies at once. And these were the real Motives that prevailed on *Charles* to hasten the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Madrid*, contrary to the Instances and Opposition of many of his Counsellors.

But it seems what *Francis* did at the High Altar was

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missioners were had in great Estimation, and highly advanced, and liberally rewarded far beyond their worthy Deserts. Notwithstanding they prospered, and the Matter went still forward, having now, as they thought, a sure Staff to lean upon.

These Proceedings being declared unto my Lord Cardinal, he sent again for the Bishops, to whom he declared the Effect of these Commissioners Pains ; and, for Assurance thereof, shewed them the Instruments of each University under their several Seals ; and the Business being thus handled, they went again to Consultation how things should be ordered.

At last it was concluded, that it was very mete the King should send unto the Pope his Holiness, the Opinions of both Universities of *England*, and also foreign Universities, which were manifestly authorized by their common Seals. And it was also thought fit the Opinions of the worthy Prelates of *England* should be sent to

the Pope, comprized in an Instrument which was not long time in finishing.

Nor was it long after that the Ambassadors were assigned for this Design, who took their Journey accordingly, having certain Instruments, that if the Pope would not thereupon consent to give Judgment definitively in the King's Case, then to require another Commission from his Holiness to be granted to his Legate, to establish a Court here in *England*, for that Purpose only, to be directed to my Lord Cardinal Legate of *England*, and to Cardinal *Campion*, Bishop of *Bath*, which the King gave him at a certain Time, when he was sent Ambassador hither from the Pope his Holiness, to determine and rightly judge according to their Consciences. To the which, after long Suit made, and for the Good-will of the said Cardinal, the Pope granted their Suit.

Then they returned into *England*, relating unto the King, that his Grace's Pleasure should be

was only a Farce ; for, before he signed the Treaty, he made a formal, though secret, Protestation against it, in the Presence of a few trusty Witnesses and Notaries.

The Peace being proclaimed, King *Francis* and Queen *Eleanor* met, and were immediately married, but did not bed together ; for, in less than two Hours after the Marriage, they parted. This looks as if there was more Compulsion than Good-liking in this Conjunction ; otherwise they would in all Likelihood, have proceeded to a Consummation.

The Emperor and the King for some Days after the Marriage remained together, and then set out from

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL.

‘ be now brought to pass substantially, being never more likely, considering the State of the Judges.

‘ Long was the Expectation, on both Sides for the coming over of the Legate from *Rome*, who at last arrived in *England* with his Commission, and, being much troubled with the Gout, his Journey was long and tedious e’er he could get to *London*, who should have been most solemnly received at *Black-heath* ; but he desired not to be so entertained with Pomp and Vain-glory ; and therefore he came very privately on his own Horse without *Temple-bar*, called *Bath-place*, where he lay, the House being furnished of all manner of Provision of my Lord’s. So, after some Deliberation and Consultation, in the ordering of the King’s Business, now in hand by his Commission, and Articles of the Ambassage,

‘ which being read, it was determined, that the King and the good Queen, his lawful Wife, should be judged at *Bridewell* and in *Black-friars*, and some Place thereabouts the Court, to be kept for the Disputation and Determination of the Causes and Differences between the King and the Queen, where they were to repair before these two Legates, who sat as Judges ; before whom the King and Queen were cited and summoned to appear ; which was a strange Sight, and the *newest* Device that ever was heard or read of in any Story or Chronicle : A King and a Queen to be compelled to appear in a Court as common Persons, within their own Realm and Dominions, and to abide the Judgments and Decrees of their Subjects, being a Prerogative belonging to the Royal Diadem. [The *Divorce* too, we think, was *very new*.]

from *Torrejon de Valasco*, and coming to a Cross where the Road parts, they took off their Hats, saying to each other, *God keep you, Brother*; and the Emperor took the Way to *Toledo*, and the King the other to *Madrid*, whence he continued his Journey to *Fuenterabia*, and so into *France*.

The Time drawing near when the Emperor was to marry *Elizabeth*, Princess of *Portugal*, she was conducted to the Frontiers of that Kingdom by the Princes, her Brothers, and the prime Nobility, where she was

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

C H A P. XVI.

A new Court erected to determine the King's Case, two Cardinals being Judges, having Power to convent the King and Queen; the Issue thereof.

‘ I T is a wonderful Thing to
 ‘ consider the Strength of
 ‘ Princes Wills, when they are
 ‘ bent to have their Pleasure fulfilled, wherein no reasonable
 ‘ Persuasions will serve the Turn;
 ‘ how little do they regard the
 ‘ dangerous Sequels that may
 ‘ ensue as well to themselves as
 ‘ to their Subjects? And amongst
 ‘ all Things there is nothing
 ‘ that makes them more wilful
 ‘ than carnal Love, and various
 ‘ affecting of voluptuous Desires, wherein nothing could
 ‘ be of greater Experience than
 ‘ to see what Inventions were
 ‘ furnished, what Laws were enacted, what costly Edifices of
 ‘ noble and antient Monasteries
 ‘ were overthrown, what Diversities of Opinion then arose,
 ‘ what Extortions were then
 ‘ committed, how many learned
 ‘ and good Men were then put
 ‘ to Death, and what Altera-

‘ tions of good antient Laws,
 ‘ Customs, and charitable Foundations were turned from the
 ‘ Relief of the Poor, to the utter Destruction and Desolation,
 ‘ almost to the Subversion, of
 ‘ this noble Realm.

‘ It is a thousand Pities to understand the Things that since
 ‘ have happened to this Land, the Proof whereof hath taught
 ‘ all us *Englishmen* lamentable Experience. If Men's Eyes be
 ‘ not blind they may see, and if their Ears be not stopped they
 ‘ may hear, and if Pity be not exiled their Hearts may relent and lament at the Sequel
 ‘ of this inordinate Love, altho' it lasted but a while. O Lord
 ‘ God withhold thine Indignation from us!

‘ You shall understand, as I said before, that there was a
 ‘ Court erected at *Black-friars*, London, where these two Cardinals

was met and received by the Duke of *Calabria*, the Archbishop of *Toledo*, and many Persons of Quality, sent by the Emperor for that Purpose, who conducted her to *Badajos*, where they remained seven Days; and from thence they took their Journey to *Seville*, the Place appointed to celebrate the Nuptials at, and arrived there on the 3d of *March*; and her Reception was such as became the Wealth and Dignity of that City. Eight Days after came the Emperor, and the same Night they were married by the Pope's Legate,

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

dinals sat as Judges: Now will I describe unto you the Order of the Court.

First, There were many Tables and Benches set in manner of a Consistory, one Seat being higher than another for the Judges aloft; above them, three Degrees high, was a Cloth of Estate hanged, and a Chair-royal under the same, wherein sat the King, and some Distance off sat the Queen, and at the Judges Feet sat the Scribes and Officers for the Execution of the Process; the chief Scribe was Dr. *Stephens*, after Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Apparitor, who was called Doctor of the Court, was one Cook of *Westminster*. Then before the King, and the Judges, sat the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Warham*, and all other Bishops; there stood at both Ends within Counselors learned in the Spiritual Laws, as well on the King's Side, as the Queen's Side. Dr. *Sampson*, afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*, and Dr. *Hall*,

after Bishop of *Worcester*, with divers others; and Proctors in the same Law were Dr. *Peter*, who was afterwards chief Secretary, and Dr. *Tregunmill*, with divers others.

Now on the other Side, there were Counsel for the Queen Dr. *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, and Dr. *Standish*, Bishop of *St. Asaph* in *Wales*, two brave noble Divines, especially the Bishop of *Rochester*, a very godly Man, whose Death many Noblemen, and many worthy Divines much lamented, who lost his Head about this Cause, e'er it was ended, upon *Tower-hill*; as also another antient Doctor, called Dr. *Ridley*, a little Man, but a great Divine. The Court being thus ordered, as is before expressed, the Judges commanded the Crier to proclaim Silence, whilst the Commission was read both to the Court and to the People there assembled: That done, and Silence being again proclaimed, the Scribes commanded the Crier to call, King Henry
of

gate, to the Satisfaction of the whole Kingdom. In the mean Time the King of *France* was travelling towards the Frontiers, to be exchanged for the Hostages agreed upon, attended suitable to his Dignity; but, before he arrived there, several Articles were settled touching the Formality of the Exchange.*

Being come to *Hirungranza*, on the Banks of the River *Tolesa*, which parts *France* and *Spain*, the Gentlemen, who attended the King, made a Stand with him on the Edge of the River, as did the Lady Regent, the King's

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ of England! Whereunto the King
‘ answered and said, *Here*. Then
‘ called he again the Queen of
‘ England, by the Name of *Ka-*
‘ *tharine*, Queen of England, Come
‘ into the Court, &c. Who made
‘ no Answer thereunto, but rose
‘ immediately out of her Chair
‘ where she sat: And because she
‘ could not come to the King
‘ directly, by reason of the Dis-
‘ tance, therefore she came round
‘ about the Court to the King,
‘ and kneeled down at his Feet,
‘ saying these Words in broken
‘ English, as followeth, viz.

‘ Sir, quoth she, I beseech you,
‘ do me Justice and Right, and
‘ take some Pity upon me, for I
‘ am a poor Woman, and a
‘ Stranger, born out of your Do-
‘ minions, having here no indis-
‘ ferent Counsel, and less Assu-
‘ rance of Friendship: Alas! Sir,
‘ how have I offended you, what
‘ Offence have I given you, in-
‘ tending to abridge me of Life
‘ in this Sort? I take God to
‘ witness, I have been to you a
‘ true and loyal Wife, ever con-
‘ formable to your Will and Plea-

‘ sure, never did I contrary or
‘ gainsay your Mind, but always
‘ submitted myself in all Things,
‘ wherein you had any Delight
‘ or Dalliance, whether it were
‘ little or much, without grudg-
‘ ing or any Sign of Discontent: I
‘ have loved for your Sake all Men
‘ whom you have loved, whe-
‘ ther I had Cause or not, were
‘ they Friends or Foes; I have
‘ been your Wife these 20 Years,
‘ by whom you have had many
‘ Children: And when I first
‘ came to your Bed, I take God to
‘ witness, I was a Virgin; whe-
‘ ther it were true or no, I put it
‘ to your Conscience: If there be
‘ any Cause that you can alledge
‘ either of Dishonesty or of any other
‘ Matter, lawfully to put me from
‘ you, I am willing to depart with
‘ Shame and Rebuke; but if there
‘ be none, then I pray you let me
‘ have Justice at your Hands.

‘ The King your Father was a
‘ Man of such an excellent Wit
‘ in his Time, that he was ac-
‘ counted a second Solomon; and
‘ the King of Spain, my Father,
‘ Ferdinand, was taken for one
‘ of

* See Sandeval, Vol. I. p. 735, 36, 17.

King's Mother, with the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, on the *French* Side. In the midst of the River was a large Bark, moored fast with several Anchors ; then the King, with *Lanoy* the Vice-roy of *Naples*, and a certain Number of Gentlemen, went into one Boat, and at the same Time the Dauphin, the Duke of Orleans, and Marshal *Lautrec*, with the like Number of Gentleman, entered another Boat ; then moving equally, both at one Time, to the opposite Sides of the Bark, into which the King came with

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ of the wisest Kings that reigned
 ‘ in Spain these many Years. So
 ‘ they were both wise Men and
 ‘ noble Princes ; and it is no
 ‘ Question but they had wise
 ‘ Counsellors of either Realm, as
 ‘ be now at this Day : Who
 ‘ thought, at the Marriage of you
 ‘ and me, to hear what new De-
 ‘ vices are now invented against
 ‘ me, to cause me to stand to the
 ‘ Order of this Court ? And I con-
 ‘ ceive you do me much Wrong, may
 ‘ you condemn me for not answering,
 ‘ having no Counsel but such as you
 ‘ assigned me : You must consider,
 ‘ that they cannot be indifferent on
 ‘ my Part, being your own Subjects,
 ‘ and such as you have made Choice
 ‘ of out of your own Council, where-
 ‘ unto they are privy, and dare not
 ‘ disclose your Pleasure.

‘ Therefore I most humbly beseech
 ‘ you to spare me, until I know how
 ‘ my Friends in Spain will advise
 ‘ me : But if you will not, then let
 ‘ your Pleasure be done.

‘ And with that she rose, mak-
 ‘ ing a low Courtesy to the King,
 ‘ and departed from thence ; all
 ‘ the People thinking she would
 ‘ have returned again to her for-

‘ mer Seat ; but she went pre-
 ‘ sently out of the Court, leaning
 ‘ upon the Arm of one of her
 ‘ Servants, who was her general
 ‘ Receiver, one Mr. Griffith.

‘ The King, seeing that she
 ‘ was ready to go out of the
 ‘ Court, commanded the Cryer
 ‘ to call her again by these
 ‘ Words, *Katherine, Queen of*
 ‘ *England, come into the Court.*
 ‘ Lo, quoth Mr. Griffith, you
 ‘ are called again : Go on,
 ‘ quoth she, it is no Matter ; it
 ‘ is no indifferent Court for me,
 ‘ therefore I will not tarry, go
 ‘ on your Way ; and so they de-
 ‘ parted without any further
 ‘ Answer at that Time, or any
 ‘ Appearance in any other Court
 ‘ after that.

‘ The King seeing she was
 ‘ departed thus, and considering
 ‘ her Words, said to the Au-
 ‘ dience these few Words in
 ‘ Effect.

‘ Forasmuch, quoth he, as the
 ‘ Queen is gone, I will in her
 ‘ Absence declare unto you all :
 ‘ She hath been to me a true
 ‘ obedient Wife, and as comfort-
 ‘ able as I could wish or desire ;
 ‘ she

with twelve *Spaniards*, and the young Princes, with twelve *French* Gentlemen, exactly at the same Moment, the King being exchanged for his two Sons, who were conducted in his Boat to *Spain*, and the King got safe into *France* in the Boat that brought them to the Bark.

No sooner was the King on Shore in his own Kingdom, but he mounted on Horse-back, and rode full speed to *St. Jean de Luz*, and the next Day to *Bayonne*. In the mean time the Vice-roy of *Naples* conducted

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ she hath all the Virtues and
‘ good Qualities that belong to
‘ a Woman of her Dignity, or
‘ in any of meaner Estate; her
‘ Conditions will well declare
‘ the same.

‘ Then, quoth my Lord Cardinal, I humbly beseech your
‘ Highness to declare unto this
‘ Audience, whether I have been
‘ the first and chief Mover of
‘ this Matter unto your High-
‘ ness, or no; for I am much
‘ suspected of all Men.

‘ My Lord Cardinal, quoth
‘ the King, you have rather ad-
‘ vised me to the contrary, than
‘ been any Mover of the same.
‘ The special Cause, that moved
‘ me in this Matter, is a certain
‘ Scruple that pricked my Con-
‘ science, upon certain Words
‘ spoken by the Bishop of *Bayon*,
‘ the *French* Ambassador, who
‘ came hither to consult of a
‘ Marriage between the Princess
‘ our Daughter, the Lady *Mary*,
‘ and the Duke of *Orleans*, se-
‘ cond Son to the King of
‘ *France*; and upon Resolution
‘ and Determination, he desired
‘ Respite to advertise the King

‘ his Master thereof, whether
‘ our Daughter *Mary* should be
‘ legitimate in respect of my
‘ Marriage with this Woman,
‘ being some time my Brother’s
‘ Wife, which Words (I pon-
‘ dering) begot such a Scruple in
‘ my Conscience that I was much
‘ troubled at it, whereby I
‘ thought myself in Danger of
‘ God’s heavy Displeasure and
‘ Indignation, and the rather be-
‘ cause he sent us no Issue Male;
‘ for all the Issue Male that I
‘ have had by my Wife died in-
‘ continently after they came
‘ into the World, which caused
‘ me to fear God’s Displeasure
‘ in that particular. Thus my
‘ Conscience being tossed in the
‘ Waves of troublesome Doubts,
‘ and partly in Despair to have
‘ any other Issue, than I had al-
‘ ready by this Lady my now
‘ Wife; it behoved me to con-
‘ sider the Estate of this Realm,
‘ and the Danger it stands in for
‘ lack of a Prince to succeed me.
‘ I thought it therefore good, in
‘ Release of this mighty Bur-
‘ then on my Conscience, as
‘ also for the quiet Estate of this
‘ Realm,

ducted the young Royal Captives to *Fuenterabia*, and delivered them to the Care of Don *John Tovar*, Marquis of *Barlanga*.

Lanoy having thus far proceeded, and taken Leave of the young Princes, passed over to *Bayonne*, to attend King *Francis*, in order to receive the Ratification of the Treaty. At first *Francis* shewed some Inclination to perform it; but at last he set out for *Paris* without doing it.

Thus was the King of *France* set at Liberty, after
above

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

' Realm, to attempt a Trial in
 ' the Law herein: Whether I
 ' might lawfully take another
 ' Wife without carnal Concu-
 ' piscence, by which God may
 ' send more Issue, in case this
 ' my first Copulation was not
 ' good; I not having any Dis-
 ' pleasure in the Person, or Age
 ' of the Queen, with whom I
 ' could be well contented to
 ' continue (if our Marriage may
 ' stand with the Law of God) as
 ' with any Woman alive; in
 ' which Point consisteth all the
 ' Doubt that we go about, now
 ' to know by the learned Wif-
 ' dom of you our Prelates and
 ' Pastors, of this Realm and
 ' Dominion, now here assem-
 ' bled for that Purpose, to whose
 ' Consciences and Learning, I
 ' have committed the Care and
 ' Judgment, according to which
 ' I will (God willing) be well
 ' contented to submit myself,
 ' and obey the same: And when
 ' my Conscience was so troubled,
 ' I moved it to you, my Lord
 ' of *Lincoln*, in Confession, then
 ' being my Ghostly Father:
 ' And forasmuch as you were
 ' then in some Doubt, you mov-
 ' ed me to ask Counsel of the
 ' rest of the Bishops; whereupon
 ' I moved it to you, my Lord
 ' Cardinal, to have your Li-
 ' cense, forasmuch as you are
 ' Metropolitan, to put this Mat-
 ' ter in question; and so I did
 ' to all you, my Lords, to which
 ' you all granted under your
 ' Seals, which is here to shew.
 ' That is Truth, quoth the
 ' Bishop of *Canterbury*, and I
 ' doubt not but my Brothers will
 ' acknowledge the same. No,
 ' Sir, not so, under Correction,
 ' quoth the Bishop of *Rocheſter*,
 ' for you have not my Hand
 ' and Seal. No, quoth the King,
 ' Is not this your Hand and
 ' Seal? and shewed it to him in
 ' the Instrument with Seals:
 ' No, forsooth, quoth the Bishop.
 ' How say you to that, quoth
 ' the King to the Bishop of
 ' *Canterbury*? Sir, It is his
 ' Hand and Seal, quoth the Bi-
 ' shop of *Canterbury*. No, my
 ' Lord, quoth the Bishop of *Ro-*
 ' *cheſter*, indeed you were in
 ' hand with me to have both my
 ' Hand and Seal, as other of
 ' the



To y^e R.^t Hon.^{ble} y^e Lady Elizabeth Anson
Eldest Daughter of the Right Hon. PHILIP
Earl of HARDWICKE &c. This Plate is humbly
Inscrib'd by her most Obedient. Servant
Jas: Grove.
Benning sc.

above a Year's Imprisonment. Dr. Fiddes says,
 " That when King *Francis* was exchanged, and found
 " himself at full Liberty in his own Country, he im-
 " mediately mounted a swift Horse, and, putting
 " Spurs to him, rode with Precipitation, and exprefs-
 " ed himself after a Manner, rather discovering an
 " excessive Transport of Joy, than becoming the Ma-
 " jesty and Sedateness of so great a Prince: For he
 " broke out into this Exclamation, *I am a King! I*
 " *am a King!* designing thereby to declare, that he
 had

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

the Lords had done, but I an-
 swered I would never consent
 to any such Act, for it was
 much against my Conscience,
 and therefore my Hand and
 Seal shall never be set to such
 an Instrument, (God willing)
 with many other Words to
 that Purpose. You say Truth,
 quoth the Bishop of *Canter-*
bury, such Words you used,
 but you were fully resolved at
 the last, that I should subscribe
 your Name, and put to your
 Seal, and you would allow of
 the same. All which, quoth
 the Bishop of *Rochester*, under
 Correction, my Lord, is un-
 true. Well, quoth the King,
 we will not stand in Argument
 with you, you are but one:
 And so the King arose up,
 and the Court was adjourned
 until the next Day, at which
 Time the Cardinals sat again,
 and the Counsel on both Sides
 were there present to answer.

The King's Counsel alledged
 the Matrimony not good nor
 lawful at the Beginning: Be-
 cause of the carnal Copulation
 that Prince *Arthur* had with

the Queen: This Matter was
 very narrowly scanned on that
 Side, and to prove the carnal
 Copulation, they had many
 Reasons and Similitudes of
 Truth; and being answered
 negatively again on the other
 Side, it seemed that all their
 former Allegations were doubt-
 ful to be tried, and that no
 Man knew. Yes, quoth the
 Bishop of *Rochester*, I know
 the Truth. How can you
 know the Truth, quoth the
 Cardinal, more than any other
 Person? Yes, forsooth, my
 Lords, quoth he, I know that
 God is the Truth itself, and
 never saith but Truth, and he
 saith thus, *Quos Deos conjunxit,*
Homo non separet: And foras-
 much as this Marriage was
 joined and made by God to a
 good Intent, therefore I said
 I knew the Truth, and that
 Man cannot break upon any
 wilful Action that which God
 hath made and constituted.
 So much do all faithful Men
 know, quoth my Lord Cardi-
 nal, as well as you, therefore
 this Reason is not sufficient in

this

“ had now recovered the Freedom of a crowned
 “ Head ; or, as others have inferred from the Event,
 “ that, being now at full Liberty, he should not think
 “ himself bound to perform a Treaty, which he only
 “ submitted to through Constraint.”

We may here see, that even great Men, when under Misfortunes, tho’ they have enjoyed the utmost Grandeur of the World, find it very difficult to maintain that portly Dignity becoming them.

No sooner was the *French* King returned into his
 Domi-

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ this Case ; for the King’s Coun-
 ‘ sel do alledge many Presump-
 ‘ tions to prove that it was not
 ‘ lawful at the Beginning, *Ergo*,
 ‘ it was not ordained by God ;
 ‘ for God doth nothing without
 ‘ a good End. Therefore it is
 ‘ not to be doubted, but if the
 ‘ Presumptions be true, which
 ‘ they alledge to be most true,
 ‘ then the Conjunction neither
 ‘ was nor could be of God.
 ‘ Therefore, I say unto you, my
 ‘ Lord of *Rocheſter*, you know
 ‘ not the Truth, unleſs you can
 ‘ avoid their Presumptions upon
 ‘ juſt Reasons.

‘ Then, quoth Dr. *Ridley*, It
 ‘ is a great Shame and Diſho-
 ‘ nour to this honourable Pre-
 ‘ ſence, that ſuch Presumptions
 ‘ ſhould be alledged in this open
 ‘ Court. What ! quoth my Lord
 ‘ Cardinal, *Domine Doctör Reve-
 ‘ rende*. No, my Lord, there
 ‘ belongs no Reverence to this
 ‘ Matter, for an unreverent Mat-
 ‘ ter may be unreverently an-
 ‘ ſwered, and ſo left off ; and
 ‘ then they proceeded to other
 ‘ Matters. Thus paſſed this
 ‘ Court from ſeſſion to ſeſſion,

‘ and Day to Day, till a certain
 ‘ Day the King ſent for the Car-
 ‘ dinal to *Bridewell*, who went
 ‘ into the Privy-chamber to him,
 ‘ where he was about an Hour,
 ‘ and then departed from the
 ‘ King and went to *Weſtminſter*
 ‘ in his Barge, the Biſhop of
 ‘ *Carlisle* being with him ſaid,
 ‘ It is a hot Day To-day : Yea,
 ‘ quoth the Cardinal, if you had
 ‘ been as well chafed as I have
 ‘ been within this Hour, you
 ‘ would ſay you were very hot.
 ‘ My Lord no ſooner came
 ‘ home but he went to Bed,
 ‘ where he had not lain above
 ‘ two Hours, but my Lord of
 ‘ *Wiltſhire*, Miſtreſs *Anne Bul-
 ‘ loigne*’s Father, came to ſpeak
 ‘ with him from the King : My
 ‘ Lord commanded he ſhould be
 ‘ brought to his Bed-side, who
 ‘ told him it was the King’s
 ‘ Mind he ſhould forthwith go
 ‘ with the Cardinal to the Queen,
 ‘ being then at *Bridewell* in her
 ‘ Chamber, and to perſuade her
 ‘ through their Wiſdoms to put
 ‘ the whole Matter into the
 ‘ King’s own Hands, by her
 ‘ Conſent, which ſhould be much
 ‘ better

Dominions, but the King of *England* sent Sir *Thomas Cheney* and Dr. *Taylor*, to congratulate him upon the Occasion, and to see whether he was ready to ratify the Treaties made with the Lady Regent during his Captivity.

Francis received these Ambassadors with great Respect, readily ratified the Treaties, acknowledged the great Obligations he was under to the King of *England*, for his Assistance in gaining his Liberty, and sent his Majesty a solemn Ambassy, in order to lay before

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ better for her Honour, than
‘ stand to the Tryal at Law, and
‘ thereby be condemned, which
‘ would tend much to her Dis-
‘ honour and Discredit.

‘ To perform the King’s Plea-
‘ sure, my Lord said he was
‘ ready, and so prepared to go.
‘ But, quoth he further to my
‘ Lord of *Wiltshire*, you and
‘ others of the Council have
‘ put Fancies into the Head of
‘ the King, whereby you trou-
‘ ble all the Realm; but at the
‘ length you will get but small
‘ Thanks both of God and the
‘ World, * with many other ear-
‘ nest Words and Reasons, which
‘ did cause my Lord of *Wiltshire*
‘ to be silent kneeling by my
‘ Lord’s Bed-side, and in Con-
‘ clusion departed.

‘ And then my Lord rose and
‘ took his Barge and went to
‘ *Bath-house* to Cardinal *Cam-
‘ paine’s*, and so went together
‘ to *Bridewell* to the Queen’s
‘ Lodgings; she being then in
‘ her Chamber of Presence, they
‘ told the Gentleman-usher that

‘ they came to speak with the
‘ Queen’s Grace, who told the
‘ Queen the Cardinals were
‘ come to speak with her; then
‘ she arose up having a Skain
‘ of red Silk about her Neck, (be-
‘ ing at work with her Maids)
‘ and came to the Cardinals,
‘ where they staid attending her
‘ Coming; at whose Approach,
‘ quoth she, Alack, my Lords,
‘ I am sorry that you have at-
‘ tended on me so long, what is
‘ your Pleasures with me? If it
‘ please your Grace, quoth the
‘ Cardinal, to go to your Privy-
‘ Chamber, we will shew you
‘ the Cause of our Coming.

‘ My Lord, said she, if you
‘ have any thing to say to me,
‘ speak it openly before all these
‘ Folk, for I fear nothing that
‘ you can say to me or against
‘ me, but that I am willing all
‘ the World should both see and
‘ hear it, and therefore speak
‘ your Minds openly.

‘ Then began my Lord to
‘ speak to her in *Latin*. Nay,
‘ good my Lord, speak to me
‘ in

* This shews plain, that the Cardinal was not such a Time-serv-
ing Person as some would represent, who had the Spirit to answer
Anne Bulleyn’s Father in this open and candid Manner.

before him the Articles of the Treaty he had concluded with the Emperor.

Francis also, by a Letter to Cardinal *Wolsey*, wrote with his own Hand, acknowledged, that the King and his Eminency had been the chief Instruments of procuring his Enlargement.

Cardinal *Wolsey*, upon this Occasion, discovered his usual Address and Finesse of Policy, in the Instructions drawn up for these Ambassadors; in which they were directed to represent to *Francis* the amicable Interview

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ in *English*, quoth she, although
 ‘ I do understand some *Latin*;
 ‘ Forsooth, quoth my Lord, good
 ‘ Madam, if it please your Grace,
 ‘ we come both to know your
 ‘ Mind what you are disposed
 ‘ to do in this Matter, and also
 ‘ to declare to you secretly our
 ‘ Counsels and Opinions, which
 ‘ we do for very Zeal and Obedience to your Grace.

‘ My Lords, quoth she, I
 ‘ thank you for your Good-wills,
 ‘ but to make answer to your
 ‘ Requests, I cannot so suddenly;
 ‘ for I was set amongst my
 ‘ Maids at work, little thinking
 ‘ of any such Matter, wherein
 ‘ is requisite some Deliberation,
 ‘ and a better Head than mine
 ‘ to make Answer; for I need
 ‘ Counsel in this Case, which
 ‘ concerns me so near; and
 ‘ Friends here I have none; they
 ‘ are in *Spain*, in my own Country:
 ‘ Also, my Lords, I am
 ‘ a poor Woman of too weak
 ‘ Capacity, to answer such noble
 ‘ Persons of Wisdom as you are,
 ‘ in so weighty a Matter. And
 ‘ therefore be good to me, a
 ‘ Woman destitute of Friend-

‘ ship here, in a foreign Region;
 ‘ and your Counsel also I should
 ‘ be glad to hear, and therewith
 ‘ she took my Lord by the Hand,
 ‘ and led him into her Privy-Chamber,
 ‘ with the other Cardinal, where they staid awhile,
 ‘ and I heard her Voice loud,
 ‘ but what she said I know not.

‘ This done, they went to the King,
 ‘ and made a Relation unto him
 ‘ of the Passages between the Queen
 ‘ and them, and so they departed.

‘ This strange Case proceeded,
 ‘ and went forwards from Court-day
 ‘ to Court-day, until it came to that,
 ‘ that every Man expected to hear
 ‘ Judgment given, at which Time all
 ‘ their Proceedings were openly read
 ‘ in *Latin*. That done, the King’s
 ‘ Counsel at the Bar moved for
 ‘ Judgment: Quoth Cardinal
 ‘ *Campaine*, I will not give Judgment
 ‘ until I have related the whole
 ‘ Proceedings to the Pope, whose
 ‘ Counsel and Commandment I will
 ‘ in this Case observe: The Matter
 ‘ is too high for us to give hasty
 ‘ Judgment,

‘ con-

amicable Interview that had been between the two Kings in the Year 1520; and to acquaint his Majesty, “ That the intimate Friendship then contracted had made so deep and lasting an Impression in the Mind of the King, their Master, that the Accidents which had since intervened had not defaced: That the King often reflected with much Pleasure on those friendly Offices, which had at that Time passed between them: That he could not be satisfied, after his Return into his Dominions, until he had sent to him: That the Confinement he had been under had indeed rendered a Visit fit

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ considering the Persons and the doubtful Occasions alledged, and also whose Commissioners we are, by whose Authority we sit.

‘ It is good Reason, therefore, that we make our chief Lord our Counsel in the same, before we proceed to Judgment definitive. I came not to please for any Favour, Reward, or Fear of any Person alive, be he King or otherwise; I have no such Respect to the Person, that I should offend my Conscience; and the Party Defendant will make no Answer here, but rather doth appeal from us. I am an old Man, both weak and sickly, and look every Day for Death. What shall it avail me to put my Soul in Danger of God’s Displeasure to my utter Damnation, for the Favour of any Prince in this World? My being here is only to see Justice administered according to my Conscience.

‘ The Defendant supposeth that we be not indifferent Judges, considering the King’s

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‘ high Dignity and Authority within his Realm; and, we being both his Subjects, she thinks we will not do her Justice: And therefore, to avoid all these Ambiguities, I adjourn the Court for the Time, according to the Court of *Rome*, from whence our Jurisdiction is derived: For, if we should go further than our Commission doth warrant us, it were but a Folly and blame-worthy; because then we shall be Breakers of the Orders from whom we have (as I said) our Authority derived. And so the Court was dissolved and no more done.

‘ Thereupon, by the King’s Commandment, stept up the Duke of *Suffolk*, and with a haughty Countenance uttered these Words:

‘ *It was never thus in England until we had Cardinals amongst us.* Which Words were set forth with such Vehemency, that all Men marvelled what he intended, the Duke further expressing some opprobrious Words.

‘ My Lord Cardinal perceiv-

D ing

“ fit unpracticable ; but, as he had for a long Time
 “ borne a sensible Part in his Misfortune, so now he re-
 “ joiced with him on the Occasion of his Delivery.”

The Ambassador had further in Charge to make an Offer, in the King's Name, of any Service that might either be for his Advantage, Pleasure, or Honour.

These Ambassadors, whilst they were in *France*, received further Instructions, drawn up by the Cardinal, concerning a League between *England* and that Court, and were directed to represent to *Francis*, “ That the
 “ Kindness he had been pleased to express for the
 King

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

ing his Vehemency, soberly
 said : Sir, of all Men in this
 Realm you have least Cause
 to dispraise Cardinals ; for if I
 poor Cardinal had not been,
 you should not at this present
 have had a Head upon your
 Shoulders, wherewith to make
 such a Brag in Dispute of us,
 who wish you no Harm ; neither
 have given you such Cause to
 be offended with us. I would
 have you think, my Lord, I
 and my Brother wish the King
 as much Happiness, and the
 Realm as much Honour, Wealth
 and Peace, as you, or any other
 Subject of what Degree soever
 he be within this Realm, and
 would as gladly accomplish his
 lawful Desires.

And now, my Lord, I pray
 you shew me what you would
 do in such a Case as this, if
 you were one of the King's
 Commissioners in a foreign Re-
 gion about some weighty Mat-
 ter, the Consultation whereof
 was very doubtful to be decided ?

Would you not advertise the
 King's Majesty ere you went
 thro' with the same ? I doubt

not but you would ; and there-
 fore abate your Malice and
 Spite, and consider we are
 Commissioners for a Time, and
 cannot by Virtue of a Com-
 mission proceed to Judgment,
 without the Knowledge and
 Consent of the Head of the
 Authority, and Licence obtain-
 ed from him, who is the Pope.

Therefore do we neither
 more nor less than our Com-
 mission allows us : And if any
 Man will be offended with us,
 he is an unwise Man : There-
 fore pacify yourself, my Lord,
 and speak like a Man of Ho-
 nour and Wisdom, or hold your
 Peace. Speak not reproach-
 fully of your Friends, you best
 know what Friendship I have
 shewn you : I never did reveal
 to any Person till now, either
 to mine own Praise or your
 Dishonour. Whereupon the
 Duke went his Way, and
 said no more, being much dis-
 contented.

This Matter continued thus
 a long Season, and the King
 was in Displeasure against my
 Lord Cardinal, because his Suit
 had

“ King and himself should not fail of meeting with
 “ a fuitable Return : That no Person had his Ho-
 “ nour, or his Interest more at Heart, than the
 “ King, who would omit nothing that should be for
 “ the Advancement of them, and as a sincere Friend,
 “ united in the strictest Bonds that Amity could pro-
 “ duce : That he would concur in every Thing that
 “ was for their mutual Interest ; and that, for his
 “ Part, he would apply himself with all Affiduity
 “ imaginable to cultivate the Friendship and good
 “ Correspondence between them.”

Then he proceeds to acquaint the Ambassadors with
 the

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq;*

‘ had no better Success to his ‘ be too long ere it would be
 ‘ Purpose. ‘ determined, sent an Ambassa-
 ‘ Notwithstanding the Cardi- ‘ dor to the Pope, to persuade
 ‘ nal excused himself by his Com- ‘ him to shew so much Favour
 ‘ mission, which gave him no Au- ‘ to his Majesty, as that it might
 ‘ thority to proceed to Judgment ‘ be sooner determined.
 ‘ without the Knowledge of ‘ On this Ambassage went Dr.
 ‘ the Pope, who reserved the ‘ Stephen Gardiner, then called
 ‘ same to himself. At last they ‘ by the Name of Dr. Steven,
 ‘ were advertised by a Post, that ‘ Secretary to the King, after-
 ‘ they should take Deliberation ‘ wards Bishop of *Winchester*;
 ‘ in the Matter until his Coun- ‘ This Ambassador staid there
 ‘ sel were opened, which should ‘ till the latter End of Summer,
 ‘ not be till *Bartholomew-tide* next. ‘ of whose Return you shall here-
 ‘ The King, thinking it would ‘ after hear.

C H A P. XVII.

Of certain Passages conducing to the Cardinal's Fall.

‘ **N**OW the King command- ‘ should come to the King to
 ‘ ed the Queen to be re- ‘ *Grafton* in *Northamptonshire* ; as
 ‘ moved from the Court, and sent ‘ also Cardinal *Campaine*, being
 ‘ to another Place, and presently ‘ a Stranger, should be conducted
 ‘ after the King rode on Progress, ‘ thither by my Lord Cardinal.
 ‘ and had in his Company Mrs. ‘ And so the next *Sunday* there
 ‘ *Anne Bulloigne*, in which Time ‘ were divers Opinions, that the
 ‘ Cardinal *Campaine* made suit to ‘ King would not speak with
 ‘ be discharged, and sent Home ‘ my Lord ; whereupon there
 ‘ to *Rome* : And in the Interim ‘ were many great Wagers laid.
 ‘ returned Mr. *Secretary* ; and it ‘ The two Prelates being come
 ‘ was concluded, that my Lord ‘ to the Court, and alighting

the Overtures that had been made at our Court, in the Presence of the *French* Ambassador, concerning a reciprocal Obligation to be entered into between the two Powers; and that what he had proposed had been well received both by the Ambassadors and the King's Commissioners, appointed to treat with them.

By these Instructions our Ambassadors carried on the mutual Reconciliation at the Court of *France*, while those of *Francis* were pursuing the same here; in-
somuch that both Princes neglected no Opportunity of shewing the utmost Friendship for each other:

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ expected to be received of the
‘ great Officers, as the Manner
‘ was, but they found the con-
‘ trary: Nevertheless, because the
‘ Cardinal *Campaine* was a Stran-
‘ ger, the Officers met him with
‘ Staves in their Hands in the out-
‘ ward Court, and so conveyed him
‘ to his Lodging prepared for him;
‘ and after my Lord had brought
‘ him to his Lodging he departed,
‘ thinking to have gone to his
‘ Chamber, as he was wont to do.
‘ But it was told him, he had no
‘ Lodging or Chamber appoint-
‘ ed for him in the Court, which
‘ News did much astonish him.
‘ Sir *Henry Norris*, who was
‘ then Groom of the Stole, came
‘ unto him, and desired him to
‘ take his Chamber for a while,
‘ until another was provided for
‘ him; For I assure you, quoth
‘ he, here is but little Room in
‘ this House for the King, and
‘ therefore, I humbly beseech
‘ your Grace, accept of mine for
‘ a Season. My Lord, thanking
‘ him for his Courtesy, went
‘ to his Chamber, where he
‘ shifted his riding Apparel.
‘ In the mean time came di-
‘ vers Noblemen of his Friends,
‘ to welcome him to the Court,
‘ by whom my Lord was adver-
‘ tised of all Things touching
‘ the King's Favour or Dis-
‘ pleasure; and, being thus in-
‘ formed of the Cause thereof,
‘ he was more able to excuse
‘ himself.
‘ So my Lord made him rea-
‘ dy, and went to the Chamber
‘ of Presence with the other Car-
‘ dinal, where the Lords of the
‘ Council stood all of a Row in
‘ order in the Chamber, and all
‘ the Lords saluted them both:
‘ And there were present many
‘ Gentlemen, which came on
‘ Purpose to observe the Meet-
‘ ing and Countenance of the
‘ King to my Lord Cardinal:
‘ Then immediately after the
‘ King came into the Chamber
‘ of Presence, standing under the
‘ Cloth of State.
‘ Then my Lord Cardinal took
‘ Cardinal *Campaine* by the Hand,
‘ and kneeled down before the
‘ K. but, what he said unto him,
‘ I know not, but his Counte-
‘ nance was amiable, and his
‘ Majesty stooped down, and
‘ with

other: And this favourable Change has been attributed to the refined Policy and good Conduct of Cardinal *Wolsey*. In short, these Negotiations terminated in a new Treaty concluded between the Kings of *England* and *France*, which was settled by Sir *Thomas More*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, with the *French* Ambassadors; wherein the two Monarchs agreed, “Not to make any Peace with the Emperor, before he restored to *Francis* the Ist his two Sons, who were still detained in *Spain* as Hostages, for the Performance of the Treaty of *Madrid*.”

Both

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

‘ with both his Hands took him
‘ up, and then took him by the
‘ Hand, and went to the Win-
‘ dow with him, and there talk-
‘ ed with him a good while.

‘ Then to have beheld the
‘ Countenance of the Lords and
‘ Noblemen that had laid Wa-
‘ gers, it would have made you
‘ smile, especially those that had
‘ laid their Money, that the
‘ King would not speak with
‘ him.

‘ Thus were they deceived,
‘ for the King was in earnest
‘ Discourse with him, insomuch
‘ that I heard the King say, How
‘ can this be? Is not this your
‘ Hand? and pulled a Letter out of
‘ his own Bosom, and shewed the
‘ same to my Lord. And, as I
‘ perceived, my Lord so an-
‘ swered the same, that the King
‘ had no more to say; but said
‘ to my Lord Cardinal, Go to
‘ your Dinner, and take my
‘ Lord Cardinal to keep you
‘ Company, and after Dinner
‘ I will speak further with you;
‘ and so they departed. And
‘ the King that Day dined with
‘ Mrs. *Anne Bulloigne* in her
‘ Chamber.

‘ Then was there set up in the
‘ Presence-chamber a Table for
‘ my Lord, and other Lords of
‘ the Council, where they dined
‘ together; and sitting at Din-
‘ ner, telling of divers Matters,
‘ The King should do well, quoth
‘ my Lord Cardinal, to send his
‘ Bishops and Chaplains home to
‘ their Cures and Benefices — Yea,
‘ marry, quoth my Lord of *Nor-*
‘ *folk*, and so it were meet for
‘ you to do also. — I would be
‘ very well contented therewith,
‘ quoth my Lord, if it were
‘ the King’s Pleasure to licence
‘ me with his Grace’s Leave to go
‘ to my Cure at *Winchester*: —
‘ Nay, quoth my Lord of *Nor-*
‘ *folk*, to your Benefice at *York*;
‘ where your greatest Honour
‘ and Charge is. — Even as it
‘ shall please the King, quoth
‘ my Lord Cardinal; and so they
‘ fell upon other Discourses. For
‘ indeed the Nobility were loth
‘ he should be so near the King,
‘ as to continue at *Winchester*.
‘ Immediately after Dinner they
‘ fell to counsel till the Waiters
‘ had also dined.

‘ I heard it reported by those
‘ that

Both the Pope and the *Venetians* were soon informed, that King *Francis* would refuse to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*, and that he would be glad to enter into a League, in order to protect himself against the Emperor, whom, they knew, would naturally resent *Francis's* refusing to fulfil the Treaty. This induced these Powers, with the Duke of *Milan*, to send Ambassadors to the *French* Court, which was then kept at *Cognac*, who were soon introduced to an Audience of his most Christian Majesty, to whom they imparted the Sentiments of their Masters, with regard

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ that waited on the King at
 ‘ Dinner, that Mrs. *Anne Bul-*
 ‘ *loigne* was offended as much as
 ‘ she durst, that the King did so
 ‘ graciously entertain my Lord
 ‘ Cardinal, saying, Sir, *Is it not*
 ‘ *a marvellous Thing to see into*
 ‘ *what great Debt and Danger he*
 ‘ *hath brought you, with all your*
 ‘ *Subjects?* How so? quoth the
 ‘ King. *Forsooth*, quoth she, *there*
 ‘ *is not a Man in all your whole*
 ‘ *Realm of England worth a*
 ‘ *hundred Pounds, but he hath in-*
 ‘ *debted you to him (meaning the*
 ‘ *Loan, which the King had of*
 ‘ *his Subjects.)* Well, well, quoth
 ‘ the King, for that Matter there
 ‘ was no Blame in him, for I
 ‘ know that Matter better than
 ‘ you, or any else.
 ‘ Nay, quoth she, *besides that,*
 ‘ *what Exploits hath he wrought*
 ‘ *in several Parts and Places of*
 ‘ *this Realm, to your great Slan-*
 ‘ *der and Disgrace?* There is ne-
 ‘ ver a Nobleman, but, if he had
 ‘ done half so much as he hath
 ‘ done, were well worthy to lose
 ‘ his Head. Yea, if my Lord of
 ‘ Norfolk, my Lord of Suffolk,
 ‘ my Father, or any other Man,
 ‘ had done much less than he hath
 ‘ done, they should have lost their
 ‘ Heads ere this.
 ‘ Then I perceive (quoth the
 ‘ King) you are none of my
 ‘ Lord Cardinal’s Friends. Why
 ‘ Sir, quoth she, *I have no Cause,*
 ‘ *nor any that love you; no more*
 ‘ *hath your Grace, if you did well*
 ‘ *consider his indirect and unlaw-*
 ‘ *ful Doings.*
 ‘ By that Time the Waiters
 ‘ had dined, and took up the
 ‘ Table; and so for that Time
 ‘ ended their Communication.
 ‘ You may perceive by this,
 ‘ how the old Malice was not
 ‘ forgotten, but begins to kindle
 ‘ and be set on fire, which was
 ‘ stirred by his antient Enemies,
 ‘ whom I have formerly named
 ‘ in this Treatise.
 ‘ The King, for that Time,
 ‘ departed from Mrs. *Anne Bul-*
 ‘ *loigne*, and came to the Chamber
 ‘ of Presence, and called for my
 ‘ Lord, and in the great Window
 ‘ had a long Discourse with him,
 ‘ but of what I know not. Af-
 ‘ terwards the King took him
 ‘ by the Hand, and led him into
 ‘ the Privy Chamber, and sat
 ‘ in

gard to their Readiness to enter into a Treaty, which might put a Stop to the Emperor's growing Greatness in *Italy*.

These Ambassadors were received by the King with great Civility, and entered into a Treaty with them against the Emperor on the 17th of *May*; which was calculated chiefly to drive the *Germans* out of *Italy*: But, for Reasons of State, they agreed to conceal, for the present, what was chiefly purposed from that Treaty. However, this Conjunction was not so pri-

*The Pope, &c.
enter into a
Treaty with
Francis.*

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

' in Consultation with him all
' alone, without any other of the
' Lords, till it was dark Night,
' which blanked all his Enemies
' very sore, who had no other
' Way but by Mrs. *Anne Bul-*
' *loigne*, in whom was all their
' Trust and Affiance, for the Ac-
' complishment of their Enter-
' prizes; for without her they
' feared all their Purposes would
' be frustrate.

' Now at Night was Warning
' given me, that there was no
' Room for my Lord to lodge in
' the Court; so that I was forced
' to provide my Lord a Lodging
' in the Country about *Easton*,
' at one Mr. *Empston's* House,
' where my Lord came to Supper
' by Torch-light, being late be-
' fore my Lord parted from the
' King, who willed him to re-
' sort to him in the Morning,
' for that he would talk further
' with him about the same Mat-
' ter. And in the Morning my
' Lord came again, at whose
' Coming the King's Majesty
' was ready to ride, willing my
' Lord to consult with the Lords
' in his Absence, and said he

' would not talk with him, com-
' manding my Lord to depart
' with Cardinal *Campaine*, who
' had already taken his Leave of
' the King.

' This sudden Departure of
' of the King's was the especial
' Labour of Mrs. *Anne Bulloigne*,
' who rode with him purposely
' to draw him away, because he
' should not return till the De-
' parture of the Cardinals. The
' King rode that Morning to
' view a Piece of Ground to
' make a Park of, which was
' afterwards, and is at this Day,
' called *Hardwyle-park*, where
' Mrs. *Anne* had provided him a
' Place to dine in, fearing his
' Return before my Lord Cardi-
' nal's Departure.

' So my Lord rode away after
' Dinner with Cardinal *Cam-*
' *paine*, who took his Journey
' towards *Rome*, with the King's
' Reward; but what it was I am
' not certain.

' After their Departure, it was
' told the King, that Cardinal
' *Campaine* was departed, and
' had great Treasure with him
' of my Lord Cardinal's of *Eng-*
' *land*,

privately carried on, but the Vice-roy of *Naples* got Intelligence of it, which put him upon peremptorily summoning King *Francis*, for the last Time, to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*. *Francis*, in Answer, told him plainly, “It was not in his Power; but that still, to shew he desired to live in Friendship with the Emperor, he had sent Ambassadors to that Prince, who were instructed to offer him two Millions of Crowns of Gold as an Equivalent for *Burgundy*, and punctually to perform the rest of the Treaty.”

The *French* Ambassadors at length arrived at the Empe-

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

land, to be conveyed in great Sums to *Rome*, whither they surmised he would secretly repair out of this Realm; inso-much, that they caused a Post to ride after the Cardinal to search him, who overtook him at *Calais*, and staid him until Search was made, but there was found no more than was received of the King for a Reward.

Now after Cardinal *Campaine* was gone, *Michaelmas* Term drew on, against which Time my Lord Cardinal repaired to his House at *Westminster*, and, when the Term began, he went into the Hall in such Manner as he was accustomed to do, and sat in the Chancery, being then Lord Chancellor of *England*; after which Day he never sat more: The next Day he staid at Home for the Coming of the Lords of *Norfolk* and *Sussex*, who came not that Day, but the next; and did declare unto my Lord, that it was the King's Pleasure he should surrender up the Great Seal of *England* into their Hands, and

that he should depart unto *Albur*,* which is a House near unto *Hampton-court* belonging unto the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. * Now *Esber*.

The Cardinal demanded of them to see their Commission that gave them such Authority; who answered again, They were sufficient Commissioners, and had Authority to do no less from the King's own Mouth: Notwithstanding he would in no wise agree to their Demand in that Behalf, without further Knowledge of their Authority, telling them, That the Great Seal was delivered to him by the King's own Person to enjoy the Ministration thereof, together with the Chancellorship, during the Term of his Life, whereof, for Surety, he had the King's Letters Patent to shew; which Matter was much debated between him and the Dukes, with many great Words, which he took patiently; inso-much, that the Dukes were fain to depart without their Purpose at that Time, and returned to *Windsor* to the King. And

the

Emperor's Court, which was then kept at *Granada*, and were quickly introduced to his Imperial Majesty; to whom, in a short Speech, they declared, "That it was not in the Power of the King, their Master, to perform the Article that related to the Delivering up *Burgundy*:" And desired, "That he would be graciously pleased to release the King's two Sons, upon a proper Equivalent in Money, or their Master must have recourse to such Means as God had put into his Hands."

The

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

' the next Day they returned to
' my Lord with the King's Let-
' ters, whereupon, in Obedience
' to the King's Command, my
' Lord delivered to them the
' Broad Seal, which they brought
' to *Windsor* to the King.

' Then my Lord called his Offi-
' cers before him, and took ac-
' count of all Things they had in
' their Charge, and in his Galle-
' ry were set divers Tables, upon
' which were laid divers and
' great Store of rich Stuffs, as
' whole Pieces of Silk of all Co-
' lours, Velvets, Sattins, Musks,
' Taffeties, Grograms, Scarlets,
' and divers rich Commodities.
' As also there were 1000 Pieces
' of fine Hollands, and the Hang-
' ings of the Gallery were Cloth
' of Gold, and Cloth of Silver,
' and rich Cloth of Bodkin of
' divers Colours, which were
' hanged in Expectation of the
' King's Coming.

' Also of one Side of the Gal-
' lery were hanged rich Suits of
' Copes of his own providing,
' which were made for the Col-
' leges at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*;
' they were the richest that ever
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' I saw in all my Life: Then had
' he two Chambers adjoining to
' the Gallery, the one most com-
' monly called the Gilt-chamber,
' the other the Council-chamber,
' wherein were set two broad and
' long Tables, whereupon was set
' such abundance of Plate of all
' Sorts, as was almost incredible
' to be believed, a great Part
' being all of clean Gold, and
' upon every Table and Cup-
' board, where the Plate was set,
' were Books importing every
' Kind of Plate, and every Piece
' with the Contents and the
' Weight thereof.

' Thus were all Things fur-
' nished and prepared, giving
' the Charge of the said Stuff,
' with other Things remaining
' in every Office, to be delivered
' to the King as he gave Charge.
' All Things being ordered as is
' before rehearsed, my Lord pre-
' pared to depart, and resolved
' to go by Water; but, before his
' going, Sir *William Gascoigne*,
' being his Treasurer, came
' unto him, and said, Sir,
' I am sorry for your Grace,
' for I hear you are strait to go

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to

The Ambassadors from the Pope and the *Venetians* the same Day, in an Audience with the Emperor, pressed him to withdraw his Troops, to restore the Duke of *Milan* to his Dutchy, and to pay the King of *England* what was due to him out of *Lombardy*; or, they insinuated, Measures would soon be taken to force his Compliance.

The Emperor was nothing daunted at these extraordinary Demands, and answered the *French* Ambassadors first, “ That it was not in the Power of
“ that

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

to the Tower. *Is this the best Comfort, quoth my Lord, you can give to your Master in Adversity? It hath always been your Inclination to be light of Credit, and much lighter in reporting of Lies. I would you should know, Sir William, and all those Reporters too, that it is untrue, for I never deserved to come there: Although it hath pleased the King to take my House ready furnished for his Pleasure, at this Time I would all the World should know, I have nothing but it is of Right for him, and of him I received all that I have: It is therefore convenient and reason to render the same to him again.*

Then my Lord, with his Train of Gentlemen and Yeomen, which was no small Company, took his Barge at his private Stairs, and went by Water to *Putney*, at which Time upon the Water were Abundance of Boats filled with People, expecting to have seen my Lord Cardinal go to the Tower, which they longed to see. Oh wondring and new-

fangled World! Is it not a Time to consider the Mutability of this uncertain World! for the common People ever desire Things for Novelty's Sake, which after turn to their small Profit and Advantage: For, if you mark the Sequel, they had small Cause to rejoice at his Fall. I cannot see but all Men in Favour are envied by the common People, tho' they do minister Justice truly.

Thus continued my Lord at *Asbur* three or four Weeks, without either Beds, Sheets, Table-cloths, or Dishes to eat their Meat in, or wherewith to buy any. But there was good Store of all Kind of Victuals, and of Beer and Wine plenty; but afterwards my Lord borrowed some Plates and Dishes of the Bishop of *Carlisle*.

Thus continued my Lord in this strange Estate till after *Albiontide*, and, being one Day at Dinner, Mr. *Cromwell* told him, That he ought in Conscience to consider the true and good Service, that he and
other

“ that Nation to hinder their King from performing
 “ the Treaty of *Madrid*, since it had been consented
 “ to by them :” And to the other Ambassadors, he
 said, “ That the Duke of *Milan* was his Subject, and
 “ he ought to be punished as a Rebel, for what he
 “ had before transacted ; that his Forces were too
 “ well posted to be soon removed ; that he in-
 “ tended shortly to proceed into *Italy* ; and that, if
 “ they all made War on him, he should be able to
 “ defend himself with the Assistance of his good
 “ Sub-

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

“ other of his Servants had done,
 “ who never forsook him in Weal
 “ and Woe. Then quoth my Lord,
 “ *Alas, Tom! you know I have*
 “ *nothing to give you nor them ;*
 “ *which makes me both ashamed*
 “ *and sorry, that I have nothing*
 “ *to requite your faithful Servi-*
 “ *ces.* Whereupon Mr. Cromwell
 “ told my Lord, That he had
 “ abundance of Chaplains, that
 “ were preferred by his Grace to
 “ Benefices of some 1000*l.* and
 “ others 500*l.* some more and
 “ some less ; and we your poor
 “ Servants, who take more Pains
 “ in one Day’s Service, than all
 “ your idle Chaplains have done
 “ in a Year ; and therefore, if they
 “ will not impart liberally to you
 “ in your great Indigence, it is
 “ pity they should live, and all
 “ the World will have them in In-
 “ dignation, for their great Ingrati-
 “ tude to their Master.

“ Afterwards my Lord com-
 “ manded me to call all his Gen-
 “ tleman and Yeomen up into
 “ the great Chamber, and order-
 “ ing all the Gentlemen to stand
 “ on the right Hand, and the
 “ Yeoman on the left Side ; at

“ last my Lord came out in his
 “ Rocket, upon a Violet Gown,
 “ like a Bishop, who went with
 “ his Chaplains to the upper End
 “ of the Chamber, where was a
 “ great Window, beholding his
 “ goodly Number of Servants,
 “ who could not speak to them
 “ until the Tears ran down his
 “ Cheeks, which, being perceived
 “ of his Servants, caused Foun-
 “ tains of Tears to gush out of
 “ their sorrowful Eyes, in such
 “ Sort as would cause my Heart
 “ to relent.

“ At last my Lord spake to them
 “ to this Effect and Purpose, say-
 “ ing, *Most faithful Gentlemen and*
 “ *true-hearted Yeomen, I much*
 “ *lament, that in my Prosperity*
 “ *I did not so much for you as I*
 “ *might have done, and was in*
 “ *my Power to do. I considered,*
 “ *that if in my Prosperity I should*
 “ *have preferred you to the King,*
 “ *then should I have incurred*
 “ *the King’s Servants Displeasure,*
 “ *who would not spare to report*
 “ *behind my Back, that there*
 “ *could no Office in the Court*
 “ *escape the Cardinal and his*
 “ *Servants, and by that Means*

“ Subjects. As to the King of *England*’s Demands,
 “ he said, he would pay him with the King of
 “ *France*’s Money.”

The Emperor’s Answer was no sooner known, but
 the *French* King wrote Letters to all the other Princes
 of *Christendom*, wherein he attempted to justify his
 Conduct in respect to his not performing the Treaty
 of *Madrid*; and the Substance of his Apology was,
 “ Charging the Emperor with breaking the Treaty of
 “ *Noyon*, invading the Dutchy of *Milan*, refusing the
 “ Acknow-

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

‘ <i>I should have run into open</i> ‘ <i>Slander of all the World: But</i> ‘ <i>now it is come to pass, That</i> ‘ <i>it hath pleased the King to</i> ‘ <i>take all that I have into his</i> ‘ <i>Hands, so that I have now</i> ‘ <i>nothing to give you, for I</i> ‘ <i>have nothing left me but the</i> ‘ <i>bare Cloaths on my Back; with</i>	‘ many other Words in their ‘ Praise; and so he, giving them ‘ all hearty Thanks, went away; ‘ and afterwards many of his ‘ Servants departed from him, ‘ some to their Wives, some to ‘ their Friends, Master <i>Cromwell</i> ‘ to <i>London</i>, it being then the ‘ Beginning of the Parliament.
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C H A P. XVIII.

*The Cardinal is accused of High-treason in the Parliament-house,
 against which Accusation Mr. Cromwell, (late Servant to him)
 being a Burgess in the Parliament, made Defence.*

‘ T H E aforesaid Master ‘ <i>Cromwell</i>, after his De- ‘ parture from my Lord, devi- ‘ sed with himself to be one of ‘ the Burgesses of the Parlia- ‘ ment; and, being at <i>London</i>, ‘ he chanced to meet one Sir ‘ <i>Thomas Russel</i>, Knt. a special ‘ Friend of his, whose Son was ‘ one of the Burgesses of the ‘ Parliament, of whom by Means ‘ he obtained his Room, and so ‘ put his Feet into the Parlia- ‘ ment-house; and three Days ‘ after his Departure from my ‘ Lord he came again to <i>Ashur</i>,	‘ and, I being there with my ‘ Lord, he said unto me with a ‘ pleasant Countenance: <i>I have</i> ‘ <i>adventured my Feet where I</i> ‘ <i>will be better regarded, e’re the</i> ‘ <i>Parliament be dissolved</i>: And, ‘ after he had some Talk with ‘ my Lord, he made haste to ‘ <i>London</i>, because he would not ‘ be absent from the Parliament, ‘ to the Intent he might acquaint ‘ my Lord, what was there ‘ objected against him, thereby ‘ the better to make his Defence; ‘ insomuch that there was no- ‘ thing at any Time objected ‘ against
--	--

“ Acknowledgment due to the Crown of *France* for
 “ the Earldoms of *Flanders* and *Artois*, drawing the
 “ Duke of *Bourbon* into Rebellion, and invading
 “ *Provence*, which were the Reasons for his marching
 “ into *Lombardy*, where he was taken and carried
 “ Prisoner into *Spain*; and there, being threatned with
 “ perpetual Confinement, was forced, in order to
 “ gain his Liberty, to accept of such unjust Condi-
 “ tions as the Emperor was pleased to impose on
 “ him, which he could not be bound to observe,
 “ having

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ against my Lord, but he was
 ‘ ready to make Answer there-
 ‘ unto, by Means whereof he,
 ‘ being earnest in his Master’s
 ‘ Behalf, was reputed the most
 ‘ faithful Servant to his Master
 ‘ of all other, and was gene-
 ‘ rally of all Men highly com-
 ‘ mended.

‘ Then was there brought
 ‘ a Bill of Articles into the
 ‘ Parliament-house to have my
 ‘ Lord condemned of High-trea-
 ‘ son, against which Bill Master
 ‘ *Cromwell* did inveigh so dis-
 ‘ creetly, and with such witty
 ‘ Persuasion, that the same would
 ‘ take no Effect: Then were his
 ‘ Enemies constrained to indict
 ‘ him of a Premunire, and all
 ‘ was to intitle the King to all his
 ‘ Goods and Possessions, which
 ‘ he had obtained and purchased
 ‘ for the Maintenance of his
 ‘ Colleges of *Oxford* and *Ips-*
 ‘ *wich*, which were both most
 ‘ sumptuous Buildings. To the
 ‘ Judges that were sent to take
 ‘ my Lord’s Answer herein, he
 ‘ thus answered,

‘ My Lords Judges, the King
 ‘ knoweth, whether I have of-

‘ fended or no, in using my Pre-
 ‘ rogative, for the which I am
 ‘ indicted. I have the King’s
 ‘ Licence in my Coffer to shew
 ‘ under his Hand and Broad
 ‘ Seal, for the executing and
 ‘ using thereof in most large Man-
 ‘ ner, the which now is in
 ‘ the Hands of mine Enemies;
 ‘ but, because I will not here
 ‘ stand to contend with his Ma-
 ‘ jesty in his own Case, I will
 ‘ here presently before you con-
 ‘ fess the Indictment, and put
 ‘ myself wholly to the Mercy
 ‘ and Grace of the King, trust-
 ‘ ing that he hath a Conscience
 ‘ and Reason to consider the
 ‘ Truth, and my humble Sub-
 ‘ mission and Obedience, wherein
 ‘ I might well stand to my Trial
 ‘ with Justice. Thus much may
 ‘ you say to his Highness, that
 ‘ I wholly submit myself under
 ‘ his Obedience in all Things to
 ‘ his princely Will and Pleasure,
 ‘ whom I never disobeyed or re-
 ‘ pugged, but was always con-
 ‘ tented and glad to please him
 ‘ before God, whom I ought
 ‘ most chieftly to have believed
 ‘ and obeyed, which I now re-
 ‘ pent:

“ having before-hand protested, That, if he was com-
 “ peled to unreasonable Terms, he must be obliged
 “ to break them; besides, he had sworn at his Co-
 “ ronation not to alienate any Thing belonging to
 “ the Crown of *France*: And, notwithstanding these
 “ Reasons, he had advised with the greatest Men
 “ and Counsellors of his Kingdom, Whether he
 “ ought to confirm the Treaty of *Madrid*? who una-
 “ nimously declared, He could in no wise perform
 “ so unjust a Treaty; for that the Parliament would
 “ admit

The SECRET HISEORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ pent: I most heartily desire you
 ‘ to have me commended to him,
 ‘ for whom I shall, during my
 ‘ Life, pray to God to send him
 ‘ much Prosperity, Honour and
 ‘ Victory over his Enemies. And
 ‘ so they left him.

‘ After which Mr. Shelley the
 ‘ Judge was sent to speak with
 ‘ my Lord, who, understanding he
 ‘ was come, issued out of his
 ‘ Privy-chamber, and came to
 ‘ him to know his Business,
 ‘ who after due Salutation did de-
 ‘ clare unto him, That the King’s
 ‘ Pleasure was to demand my
 ‘ Lord’s House, called *York-place*,
 ‘ near *Westminster*, belonging to
 ‘ the Bishoprick of *York*; and,
 ‘ that you do pass the same ac-
 ‘ cording to the Laws of this
 ‘ Realm, his Highness hath sent
 ‘ for all his Judges and learned
 ‘ Counsel to know their Opinions
 ‘ for your Assurance thereof, who
 ‘ be fully resolved, that your
 ‘ Grace must make a Recogni-
 ‘ zance, and before a Judge ac-
 ‘ knowledge and confess the Right
 ‘ thereof to belong to the King
 ‘ and his Successors, and so his
 ‘ Highness shall be assured there-

‘ of. Wherefore it hath pleased
 ‘ the King to send me hither to
 ‘ take of you the Recognizance,
 ‘ having in your Grace such Af-
 ‘ fiance, that you will not re-
 ‘ fuse so to do, therefore I do
 ‘ desire to know your Grace’s
 ‘ Pleasure therein.

‘ Master Shelley, quoth my Lord,
 ‘ I know the King of his own
 ‘ Nature is of a Royal Spirit,
 ‘ not requiring more than Rea-
 ‘ son shall lead him to by the
 ‘ Law: And therefore I coun-
 ‘ sel you and all other Judges
 ‘ and learned Men of his Coun-
 ‘ cil, to put no more into his
 ‘ Head than Law, that may stand
 ‘ with Conscience; for when you
 ‘ tell him, that although this be
 ‘ Law, yet it is not Conscience;
 ‘ for Law without Conscience is
 ‘ not fit to be ministred by a
 ‘ King nor his Counsel, nor by
 ‘ any of his Ministers; for eve-
 ‘ ry Counsel to a King ought to
 ‘ have Respect to Conscience, be-
 ‘ fore the Rigour of Law: Laus
 ‘ est facere quod decet, non quod
 ‘ licet: The King ought for his
 ‘ Royal Dignity and Preroga-
 ‘ tive to mitigate the Rigour of
 ‘ the



To his Grace JOHN DUKE of BEDFORD &c.
This Plate of the
EMPEROR CHARLES V.th
is humbly Inscribed by his
most obedient Serv.^t Joseph Grove.

N. Parr Sculp.

“ admit of no such Alienation, though promised
 “ by the King: That the People of *Burgundy* like-
 “ wise exclaimed against it; that the Princes, his
 “ Friends and Confederates, were all of the same
 “ Opinion: And therefore he had been obliged,
 “ in his own Defence, to enter into a strict Alliance
 “ with them.” Then he concludes with implor-
 ing all the *Christian* Princes, not to see him and
 his Children wronged; but he says not one Word of
 the Oath he had taken to obligate him to return to
 Prison. The

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

“ the Law; and therefore in his
 “ princely Place he hath consti-
 “ tuted a Chacellor, to order
 “ for him the same, and there-
 “ fore the Court of Chancery
 “ hath been commonly called the
 “ Court of Conscience; for that
 “ it hath Jurisdiction to command
 “ the Law in every Case, to de-
 “ sist from the Rigour of the Exe-
 “ cution: And now I say to you,
 “ Master Shelley, have I a Power,
 “ or may I with Conscience give
 “ that away which is now mine
 “ for me and my Successors?
 “ If this be Law and Conscience,
 “ I pray you shew me your Opi-
 “ nion.

Forsooth, quoth he, there is
 “ no great Conscience in it, but
 “ having regard to the King’s
 “ great Power, it may the better
 “ stand with Conscience, who is
 “ sufficient to recompence the
 “ Church of *York* with the double
 “ Value.

“ That I know well, quoth
 “ my Lord, but there is no such
 “ Condition, but only a bare and
 “ simple Departure of others
 “ Rights: If every Bishop should
 “ do so, then might every Pre-

“ late give away the Patrimony
 “ of the Church, and so, in Pro-
 “ cess of Time, leave nothing
 “ for their Successors to main-
 “ tain their Dignities, which
 “ would be but little to the King’s
 “ Honour.

“ Well, quoth my Lord, let
 “ me see your Commission, which
 “ was shewed to him. Then,
 “ quoth my Lord, tell his High-
 “ ness, that I am his most faith-
 “ ful Subject and obedient Beads-
 “ man, whose Command I will
 “ in no wise disobey, but will in
 “ all Things fulfil his Pleasure,
 “ as you the Fathers of the Law
 “ say I may: Therefore I charge
 “ your Conscience to discharge
 “ me, and shew his Highness
 “ from me, that I must desire
 “ his Majesty to remember there
 “ is both Heaven and Hell. And
 “ thereupon the Clerk took and
 “ wrote the Recognizance, and
 “ after some secret Talk they de-
 “ parted.

“ Thus continued my Lord at
 “ *Ashbur*; receiving daily Mes-
 “ sages from the Court, some
 “ good, and some bad, but more
 “ ill than good; for his Enemies,
 “ per-

The *Imperialists* were not wanting in setting out a long Answer to this Apology, retorting upon the King all he charges upon the Emperor.

“ First, as to the Breach of Faith, they prove it
 “ upon the King in the Treaties of *Paris* and *Noyon*,
 “ as the Case was decided by the King of *England*,
 “ when he was constituted Umpire to adjudge which
 “ of them had infringed the Articles of these Treaties,
 “ who had absolutely declared against *France*.”

Then they bring in many Instances of the King's
 unjust

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

‘ perceiving the good Affection
 ‘ the King bare always to him,
 ‘ devised a Means to disquiet his
 ‘ Patience, thinking thereby to
 ‘ give him Occasion to fret and
 ‘ chafe, that Death should rather
 ‘ ensue than otherwise, which
 ‘ they most desired, for they
 ‘ feared him more after his Fall,
 ‘ then they did in his Prosperity,
 ‘ fearing that he should, by Reason
 ‘ of the King's Favour, rise
 ‘ again, and be again in Favour,
 ‘ and great at the Court; then
 ‘ his Enemies might be in Danger
 ‘ of their Lives for their Cruelty
 ‘ *wrongfully* ministred unto him,
 ‘ and by their malicious Surmises
 ‘ invented and brought to pass
 ‘ against him: And did continually
 ‘ find new Matters against
 ‘ him to make him vex and fret,
 ‘ *but he was a wise Man, and*
 ‘ *did arm himself with much*
 ‘ *Patience.*

‘ At *Christmas* he fell very
 ‘ sick, and most likely to die;
 ‘ the King, hearing thereof, was
 ‘ very sorry, and sent Dr. *Butts*,
 ‘ his Physician, unto him, who
 ‘ found him very dangerously
 ‘ sick in Bed, and returned to

‘ the King. The King demanded,
 ‘ saying, Have you seen
 ‘ yonder Man?—Yes, Sir, quoth
 ‘ he:—How do you like him?
 ‘ quoth the King.--Sir, quoth he,
 ‘ if you will have him dead, I
 ‘ will warrant you he will be
 ‘ dead within these four Days,
 ‘ if he receive no Comfort from
 ‘ you shortly.

‘ Marry, God forbid, quoth
 ‘ the King, that he should die,
 ‘ for I would not lose him for
 ‘ 20,000*l.* I pray thee go to
 ‘ him, and do your Care to
 ‘ him.

‘ Then must your Grace,
 ‘ quoth Dr. *Butts*, send him
 ‘ some comfortable Message.—So
 ‘ I will, quoth the King, by you;
 ‘ therefore make Speed to him
 ‘ again, and you shall deliver him
 ‘ this Ring from me for a Token.
 ‘ In the which Ring was the
 ‘ King's Image engraven with
 ‘ a Ruby, as like the King as
 ‘ might be devised: This Ring
 ‘ he knoweth well, for he gave
 ‘ me the same; and tell him,
 ‘ That I am not offended with
 ‘ him in my Heart for any
 ‘ thing; and that shall be
 ‘ known

unjust Proceedings, as “ his agreeing with Pope
 “ *Leo* the Xth, to divide the Emperor’s Dominions
 “ in *Italy* ; his encouraging the Rebellion in *Spain* ;
 “ his invading *Flanders* and *Navarre*, and much more
 “ to the same Purpose.” As to the Affair of *Milan* they
 urge, “ the King of *France* commenced the War
 “ without any Right to that Dukedom, which is
 “ undoubtedly a Fief of the Empire”. In regard to
Flanders and *Artois* they plead, “ the Imperial Dig-
 “ nity takes off all Acknowledgment of Superiority
 “ to

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ known shortly ; therefore bid
 ‘ him pluck up his Heart, and
 ‘ be of good Comfort: And I
 ‘ charge you come not from
 ‘ him, till you have brought him
 ‘ out of the Danger of Death, if
 ‘ it be possible.

‘ Then spake the King to Mrs.
 ‘ *Anne Bulloigne*, Good Sweet-
 ‘ heart, as you love me, send the
 ‘ Cardinal a Token at my Re-
 ‘ quest, and, in so doing, you
 ‘ shall deserve our Thanks. She,
 ‘ being disposed not to offend
 ‘ the King, would not disobey
 ‘ his loving Request; but took
 ‘ incontinently her Tablet of Gold,
 ‘ that hung at her Side, and de-
 ‘ livered it to Dr. *Buts*, with
 ‘ very gentle and loving Words.
 ‘ And so he departed to *Asbur*
 ‘ with Speed ; and after him the
 ‘ King sent Dr. *Cromer*, Dr.
 ‘ *Clement*, and Dr. *Wotton*, to
 ‘ consult and advise with Dr.
 ‘ *Buts* for my Lord’s Recovery.
 ‘ Now after Dr. *Buts* had been
 ‘ with him, and delivered him
 ‘ the Tokens from the King
 ‘ and Mrs. *Anne Bulloigne*, with
 ‘ the most comfortable Words he
 ‘ could devise on the King’s and
 Vol. IV.

‘ Mrs. *Anne*’s Behalf, he advan-
 ‘ ced himself in his Bed, and
 ‘ received the Tokens very joy-
 ‘ fully, giving him many Thanks
 ‘ for his Pains and good Com-
 ‘ fort. He told him further, that
 ‘ the King’s Pleasure was, that
 ‘ he should minister unto him
 ‘ for his Health ; and, for the
 ‘ better and more assured Way,
 ‘ he hath also sent Dr. *Cromer*,
 ‘ Dr. *Clement*, and Dr. *Wotton*,
 ‘ all to join for your Recovery ;
 ‘ therefore, my Lord, quoth
 ‘ Dr. *Buts*, it were well they
 ‘ were called to visit you, and
 ‘ to consult with them for your
 ‘ Disease.

‘ At which Motion my Lord
 ‘ was contented, and sent for
 ‘ them to hear their Judgments ;
 ‘ but he trusted more to Dr.
 ‘ *Cromer* than all the rest, be-
 ‘ cause he was the very Means
 ‘ of bringing him from *Paris* to
 ‘ *England*, and gave him partly
 ‘ his Exhibition in *Paris*. To be
 ‘ short, in four Days they set
 ‘ him again upon his Feet, and
 ‘ he had gotten him a good
 ‘ Stomach to Meat. All this
 ‘ done, and my Lord in a right
 F good

“ to any other ; besides that, the Fealty of these
 “ Provinces were unduly introduced by *Philip* the Ist.”
 Concerning the Duke of *Bourbon* they say, “ that no
 “ Promises from the Emperor, but the King’s re-
 “ fusing to do him Justice, obliged that Prince to
 “ fly to his Imperial Majesty for Protection ; that
 “ the Earldom of *Provence* of Right appertained to
 “ the Emperor, and not to the King ; that the King
 “ had not been conquered by Fortune, but by dint of
 “ Valour ; was conveyed into *Spain* at his own Request,
 “ and

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ good Way of Amendment,
 ‘ they took their Leaves and de-
 ‘ parted, to whom my Lord of-
 ‘ fered his Reward ; but they re-
 ‘ fused, saying, The King hath
 ‘ given a special Commandment,
 ‘ that they should take nothing
 ‘ of him, for at their Return
 ‘ he would reward them of his
 ‘ own Cost.

‘ After this my Lord conti-
 ‘ nued at *Asbur* till *Candlemas*,
 ‘ before and against which Feast,
 ‘ the King caused to be sent to
 ‘ my Lord three or four Loads
 ‘ of Stuff ; and most thereof, ex-
 ‘ cept Beds and Kitchen-stuff, was
 ‘ loaded in Standards, wherein was
 ‘ both Plate and rich Hangings,
 ‘ and Chapel-stuff, which was
 ‘ done without the Knowledge
 ‘ of the Lords of the Council ;
 ‘ for all which he rendered the
 ‘ King most humble and hear-
 ‘ ty Thanks ; and afterwards
 ‘ made suit unto the King to
 ‘ be removed from *Asbur* to
 ‘ *Richmond*, which Request was
 ‘ granted.

‘ The House of *Richmond* a
 ‘ little before was repaired by
 ‘ my Lord to his great Cost, for

‘ the King had made an Ex-
 ‘ change with him for *Hampton-*
 ‘ *court*. Had the Lords of the
 ‘ Council known of these Fa-
 ‘ vours from the King to the
 ‘ Cardinal, they would have per-
 ‘ suaded the King to the con-
 ‘ trary, for they feared lest his
 ‘ now Abode near the King
 ‘ might move the King at some
 ‘ Season to resort unto him, and
 ‘ to call him Home again, con-
 ‘ sidering the great and daily
 ‘ Affection the King bare unto
 ‘ him. Therefore they moved
 ‘ the King that my Lord might
 ‘ go down to the *North*, to his
 ‘ Benefice there, where he might
 ‘ be a good Stay (as they al-
 ‘ leged) to the Country ; to
 ‘ which the King condescended,
 ‘ thinking no less but that all
 ‘ had been true according to their
 ‘ Relation, being with such Co-
 ‘ lour of deep Consideration, that
 ‘ the King was straitway per-
 ‘ suaded to their Conclusion ;
 ‘ whereupon my Lord of *Nor-*
 ‘ *folk* by Master *Cromwell*, who
 ‘ daily did resort to my Lord,
 ‘ willed that he should say to him,
 ‘ That he must go home to his
 ‘ Bene-

“ and there treated as if in his own Kingdom : That
 “ he himself proposed to yield up all his Pretences
 “ in *Flanders, Milan, Genoa, and Naples*, and, in
 “ Lieu of *Burgundy*, to conquer *Florence and Venice*
 “ for the Emperor ; to bear half the Charges of
 “ the Emperor’s War, and to serve him in Person :
 “ That he was never threatned with perpetual Im-
 “ prisonment, but had Liberty to walk Abroad and
 “ hunt : That the King notwithstanding was carry-
 “ ing on Projects against the Emperor, and had endea-
 “ voured

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

“ Benefice : *Well then, Thomas,*
 “ quoth my Lord, *we will go*
 “ *then to Winchester. I will*
 “ *then, quoth Master Cromwell,*
 “ *tell my Lord of Norfolk what*
 “ *you say ; and so he did at his*
 “ *next meeting of him. What*
 “ *should he do there ? quoth the*
 “ *Duke ; let him go to the rich*
 “ *Bishoprick of York, where his*
 “ *greatest Honour and Charge*
 “ *lieth, and so shew him. The*
 “ Lords who were not his Friends
 “ perceiving, that my Lord was
 “ disposed to plant himself so
 “ nigh the King, thought then
 “ to withdraw his Appetite from
 “ *Winchester*, moved the King to
 “ give my Lord a Pension of
 “ 4000 Marks out of *Winchester*,
 “ and all the rest to be distribut-
 “ ed amongst the Nobility and
 “ his Servants ; and so likewise
 “ to divide the Revenues of *St.*
 “ *Albans*, whereof some had 200
 “ Pounds : And all the Revenues
 “ of his Lands, belonging to his
 “ College at *Oxford and Ipswich*,
 “ the King took into his own
 “ Hands ; whereof Master *Crom-*
 “ *well* had the Receipt and Go-
 “ vernment before my Lord’s
 “ Assignment, wherefore it was

“ thought very necessary that he
 “ should have the same still,
 “ who executed all Things so
 “ well and exactly, that he was
 “ had in great Estimation for
 “ his Behaviour therein.

“ Now it came to pass that
 “ those, to whom the King had
 “ given any Annuities or Fees
 “ for Term of Life, or by Pa-
 “ tent, could not be good but
 “ only for and during my Lord’s
 “ Life, forasmuch as the King
 “ had no longer Estate therein,
 “ but what he had by my Lord’s
 “ Attainder in the Premunire ;
 “ and, to make their Estate good
 “ and sufficient, there was no
 “ other Way but to obtain my
 “ Lord’s Confirmation of their
 “ Patents ; and to bring this a-
 “ bout, there was no other Means
 “ but by Master *Cromwell*, who
 “ was thought the fittest Instru-
 “ ment for this Purpose, and for
 “ his Pains therein he was wor-
 “ thily rewarded ; and his De-
 “ meanor, his Honesty, and
 “ Wisdom was such, that the
 “ King took great notice of
 “ him, as you shall hereafter
 “ hear.

“voured to make his Escape; which his Imperial
 “Majesty took no notice of, but only ordered he might
 “be more strictly observed: That the Protestation, men-
 “tioned in the Apology, was never made: That
 “all Conditions, provided they be possible, ought in
 “Justice to be performed: That the Emperor asked
 “for no more than was his due: That he had given his
 “Sister in Marriage to the Duke of *Bourbon*, who,
 “next his Brother, was Heirefs to all his vast Do-
 “minions: That the Parliament of *Paris* had acted
 “like

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘Still the Lords thought long
 ‘till my Lord was removed fur-
 ‘ther off the King’s Way;
 ‘wherefore, among others of
 ‘the Lords, my Lord of Nor-
 ‘folk said, *Master Cromwell,*
 ‘*methinks the Cardinal, thy Ma-*
 ‘*ster, makes no haste to go North-*
 ‘*wards; tell him, if he go not*
 ‘*away, I will tear him with my*
 ‘*Teeth; therefore I would ad-*
 ‘*wise him to prepare away with*
 ‘*Speed, or else I will set him*
 ‘*forwards.* These Words re-
 ‘ported Mr. Cromwell to my
 ‘Lord at his next Repair, which
 ‘was then at *Richmond*, having
 ‘obtained Licence of the King
 ‘to remove from *Ashur* to *Rich-*
 ‘*mond*; and in the Evening my
 ‘Lord, being accustomed to walk
 ‘in the Garden, and I, being
 ‘with him standing in an Al-
 ‘ley, espied certain Images of
 ‘Beasts counterfeited in Timber,
 ‘to which I went nearer to
 ‘take the better View of; a-
 ‘mong whom I there saw a
 ‘Dun-cow, whereat I most
 ‘mused of all those Beasts. My
 ‘Lord then suddenly came upon
 ‘me unawares, and, speaking to

‘me, said, *What have you espied*
 ‘*there, whereat you look so ear-*
 ‘*nestly?*

‘*Forsooth,* quoth I, *if it please*
 ‘*your Grace, I here behold these*
 ‘*Images, which I suppose were*
 ‘*ordained to be set up in the*
 ‘*King’s Palace; but amongst them*
 ‘*all I have most considered this*
 ‘*Cow, which seems to me the*
 ‘*Artificer’s Master-piece.* Yea,
 ‘marry, quoth my Lord, upon
 ‘this Cow hangs a certain Pro-
 ‘phesy, which perhaps you ne-
 ‘ver heard of; I will shew you
 ‘there is a Saying,

When the Cow doth ride the Bull,
Then Priest beware thy Scull:

‘Of which Saying neither my
 ‘Lord that declared it, nor I
 ‘that heard it, understood the
 ‘Effect, altho’ the Compass
 ‘thereof was working, and then
 ‘like to be brought to pass.
 ‘This Cow the King gave, by
 ‘reason of the Earldom of *Rich-*
 ‘*mond*, which was Inheritance;
 ‘and this Prophecy was afterwards
 ‘expounded in this Manner:
 ‘*The Dun-cow, because it is the*
 ‘*King’s*

“ like Flatterers, in telling their King, he was not bound
 “ to the Observation of the Treaty : That what
 “ was required of him, and he had sworn to per-
 “ form, was no Alienation, but Restitution : That the
 “ *Burgundians*, spoken of in the Remonstrance, had
 “ been instructed with regard to what they were
 “ to say : And that, in case he would not perform
 “ the Premises, he ought to render himself Pri-
 “ soner again, as he had sworn to do ; and, as his
 “ Predecessor King *John* had done, when re-
 “ leased

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

‘ *King’s Beast*, betokens the King,
 ‘ and the Bull betokens Mistress
 ‘ Anne Bulloigne, who after was
 ‘ Queen. Her Father gave the
 ‘ black Bull’s Head in his Cog-
 ‘ nizance, and was his Beast, so
 ‘ that, when the King had mar-
 ‘ ried Q. Anne, it was thought of
 ‘ all Men to be fulfilled ; for what
 ‘ a Number of Priests, religious
 ‘ and secular, lost their Heads,
 ‘ for offending of those Laws,
 ‘ made to bring this Matter to
 ‘ pass, is not unknown to all
 ‘ the World ; therefore it may
 ‘ well be judged, that this Pro-
 ‘ phesy is fulfilled.

‘ You have heard what Words
 ‘ the Duke of *Norfolk* spake to
 ‘ Master *Cromwell*, touching my
 ‘ Lord’s going into the North ;
 ‘ then said my Lord, Tom, it
 ‘ is time to be going, there-
 ‘ fore I pray you go to the
 ‘ King, and tell him I would
 ‘ go to my Benefice at York,
 ‘ but for want of Moneys, de-
 ‘ siring his Grace to help me
 ‘ to some ; and you may say,
 ‘ the last Money I had from
 ‘ his Grace was too little to
 ‘ pay my Debts, and to com-

‘ pel me to pay the rest of my
 ‘ Debts is too much Extremi-
 ‘ ty, seeing all my Goods are
 ‘ taken from me : And also
 ‘ shew my Lord of *Norfolk*, and
 ‘ the rest of the Council, that I
 ‘ would depart, if I had Money.
 ‘ Sir, quoth Master *Cromwell*, I
 ‘ shall do my best ; and so, after
 ‘ other Communication, departed,
 ‘ and came to *London*. Then, in
 ‘ the beginning of *Lent*, my
 ‘ Lord removed his Lodging in-
 ‘ to the *Charter-house* at *Rich-*
 ‘ *mond*, where he lay in a Lodg-
 ‘ ing that Dr. *Colet* made for
 ‘ himself ; and every Afternoon,
 ‘ for the Time of his Residence
 ‘ there, would he set in Con-
 ‘ templation with some one of
 ‘ the most antient Fathers there,
 ‘ who converted him to despise
 ‘ the vain Glory of this World ;
 ‘ and there they gave unto him
 ‘ Shirts of Hair to wear next his
 ‘ Body, which he wore divers
 ‘ times after.

‘ The Lords assigned, that my
 ‘ Lord should have 1000 Marks
 ‘ Pension out of *Winchester*, for
 ‘ his going down into the North,
 ‘ which, when the King heard
 ‘ of,

“leafed by them to the *English* on the same
“Terms.”

Notwithstanding these Pieces were published, the *French* Ambassadors continued their Endeavours to prevail with the Emperor, to comply with the King their Master's Request, but all in vain ; for he refused to make the least Alteration in the Treaty of *Madrid* ; and his Imperial Majesty was so provoked at King *Francis's* Behaviour, that he told the *French* Ambassadors, “ That their Master had done *lackment* “ &

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

of, he commanded it should
be forthwith paid to Master
Cromwell, and the King com-
manded Master *Cromwell* to
repair to him again, when he
had received the said Sum,
which accordingly he did ; to
whom his Majesty said, *Shew*
your Lord, that I have sent
him 10,000 Pounds of my Be-
nevolence, and tell him, he shall
not lack ; bid him be of good
Comfort. Master *Cromwell*, on
my Lord's Behalf, thanked the
King for his royal Liberality
towards my Lord, (and with
that departed to *Richmond*)
to whom he delivered the
Money and the joyful Tid-
ings, wherein my Lord did
not a little rejoice ; forthwith
there was a Preparation made
for his going. He had with
him in his Train 160 Per-
sons, and 12 Carts, to carry
his Goods, which he sent
from his College at *Oxford* ;
besides other Carts, for his daily
Carriage of his Necessaries for
his Buildings. He kept his so-
lemn Feast of *Easter* at *Peter-*
borough, and upon *Palm-sunday*

he bare his Palm, and went on
Procession with the Monks ;
and upon *Thursday* he made his
Maundy, having 59 poor Peo-
ple whose Feet he washed and
kissed, and, after he had dried
them, he gave every one of
them 12*d.* and three Ells of
good Canvas to make them
Shirts, and each of them a Pair
of new Shoes, and a Cask of
Red-herrings. On *Easter-day*
he rose to the *Resurrection*,
and that Day he went in
Procession in his Cardinal's
Vestments, having his Hat
on his Head, and sung the
High Mass there himself so-
lemnly ; after his Mass he gave
his Benediction to all the
Hearers with clean Remission.
From *Peterborough* he took
his Journey into the North,
but made some Stay by the
Way, and many Passages hap-
pened in his Journey too te-
dious here to relate. At the last
he came to *Stoby*, where he
continued till after *Michael-*
mas, exercising many Deeds
of Charity. Most commonly
every Sunday, if the Weather
served,

“ & mechantment, (that is, basely and wickedly) the very
 “ Words *Francis* declared *Charles* should be free to charge
 “ him with, if he did not perform the Treaty.”

No sooner was the Emperor's Resolution known,
 but *Lanoy* quitted the *French* Court, and proceeded
 to put himself at the Head of the Emperor's Ar-
 my, ordered to march for *Naples*, and soon after he
 arrived in *Corfica*.

Matters having been carried to this Extremity,
 the League, that had been concluded at *Cognac*, was
 no

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

“ served, would he go to some
 “ poor Parish-church thereabouts,
 “ and there would say the Di-
 “ vine Service, and either said
 “ or heard Mass, and then caus-
 “ ed one of his Chaplains to
 “ preach the Word of God to
 “ the People; and afterwards he
 “ would dine in some honest
 “ House in the Town, where
 “ should be distributed to the
 “ Poor Alms, as well of Meat
 “ and Drink, as Money to sup-
 “ ply the want of Meat and
 “ Drink, if the Number of Poor
 “ did exceed: Thus, with other
 “ good Deeds, practising himself
 “ during the Time of his Abode
 “ there between Party and Party,
 “ they being at Variance. About
 “ *Michaelmas* after he removed
 “ from thence to *Caywood-castle*,
 “ within seven Miles of the
 “ City of *York*, where we had
 “ much Honour and Love from
 “ all Men, high and low, where
 “ he kept a plentiful House for
 “ all Comers; also he built
 “ and repaired the Castle, which
 “ was much decayed, having at
 “ the least 300 Persons daily in
 “ Work, to whom he paid
 “ Wages laying there: Whither

“ all the Doctors and Prebends
 “ of the Church of *York* did re-
 “ pair to my Lord, according to
 “ their Duties, as unto the chief
 “ Head, Patron, and Father of
 “ their Spiritual Dignities, who
 “ did joyfully welcome him into
 “ those Parts, saying, *It was no*
 “ *small Comfort unto them, to*
 “ *see their Head among them, who*
 “ *had been so long absent from them,*
 “ *being like to fatherless and com-*
 “ *fortless Children for want of his*
 “ *Presence; and, that they trusted*
 “ *shortly to see him amongst them*
 “ *in his own Church.* To whom
 “ he made answer, *That it was*
 “ *the most especial Cause of his*
 “ *Coming, to be amongst them as*
 “ *a Father, and a natural Bro-*
 “ *ther,*

“ Sir, quoth they, you must
 “ understand the Ordinances and
 “ Rules of our Church, whereof,
 “ though you be the whole and
 “ sole Governor, yet you are not
 “ so well acquainted as we be
 “ therein; therefore, if it please
 “ your Grace, we shall (under
 “ Favour) open unto you some
 “ Part of our antient Laws and
 “ Customs of our Church, that
 “ our head Prelate and Pastor, as
 “ you

no longer kept a Secret, but published in all the Courts of *Europe*, and the King of *England* was strongly solicited to become a principal Party therein; which he declined, because some Articles of that Treaty were apprehended prejudicial to his Interest, and others omitted which most concerned him; therefore *Wolsey* demanded, in his Majesty's Behalf, "That Commissioners might be sent by the Powers mentioned in this Treaty, in order that such Parts thereof might be qualified, wherein the King did not seem " to

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

you now are, might not come above our Quire-door, until by due Order he be installed. Nor if you should happen to die before your Installation, you should not be buried above in the Quire, but below, in the nether Part of the Body of the Church: Therefore we humbly desire and beseech you, in the Name of all our Brethren, that you would vouchsafe to do therein, as our antient Fathers, your Predecessors, have done, and that you would not break the laudable Customs of our Church; to the which we are obliged by Oath, at our first Admittance to observe, and divers others, which in our Chapter doth remain upon Record.

These Records, quoth my Lord, would I feign see, and then shall you know further of mine Advice and Mind in this Business.

A Day was assigned to bring their Records to my Lord, at which Time they resorted to my Lord with their Register and Books of Records, wherein were fairly written their Institutions and Rules, which

every Minister of their Church was most principally and chiefly bound to observe and infallibly keep and maintain.

When my Lord had read the Records, he did intend to be at the Cathedral Church of *York*, the next Monday after *Alhollan-tide*, against which Time due Preparation was made for the same; but not in so sumptuous a wise as were his Predecessors before him: Nor yet in such sort as the Fame and common Report was afterwards made of him, to his great Slander, and to the false Reporters no small Dishonesty, to become Divulgers of such notorious Lies, as I am sure they did; for I myself was sent by my Lord to *York*, to see that all Things there should be ordered and provided for that Solemnity* in a very decent Form, to the Honour of that antient and worthy Monastery of *York*.

It came to pass, that upon *Alhollows-day*, one of the head and principal Officers of the said

Yet many Authors, the Cardinal's inveterate Enemies, have averred the contrary.

to be concerned ; and then, these Points having been settled, *Henry* acceded to the Treaty.

The *Spanish* Writers complain of the Pope's Ingratitude upon this Occasion, and say, " That he was the chief Instrument of this Treaty : " That, besides the many Benefits and Favours he " received from the Emperor, he was beholden to " that Prince for having always supported him " against his most implacable Enemy, Cardinal *Vol-* " *tieri* ; maintained him in the Government of *Flo-* " *rence*,

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

' said Cathedral Church, which
' should have had most doing
' at my Lord's Installation, was
' with my Lord at *Caywood*, and
' sitting at Dinner, they fell in-
' to Communication of this Mat-
' ter, and the Order and Ceremo-
' ny thereof: He saying, that my
' Lord Cardinal should go a
' foot from a Chapel which
' stands without the Gates of
' of the City, called *St. James's*
' Chapel, unto the Minster
' upon Cloth, which should
' be distributed to the Poor
' after his said Passage to the
' Church. Which my Lord
' hearing, replied, and said, *Al-*
' *though perhaps our Predeces-*
' *sors have gone upon Cloth, yet*
' *we intend to go on foot, with-*
' *out any such Pomp or Glory,*
' *in the Vamps of our Hosen:*
' And therefore gave order to his

' Servants to go as humbly thi-
' ther as might be, without any
' sumptuous Apparel: *For I in-*
' *tend on Sunday to come to you*
' *to be installed, and to make*
' *but one Dinner for you at the*
' *Close; and the next Day to dine*
' *with the Mayor, and so return*
' *again thither.*

' The Day being not unknown
' to all the Country, the Gen-
' tlemen, Abbots, and Priors,
' such Provision sent in, that it
' was almost incredible for Store
' and Variety.

' The common People held
' my Lord in great Estimation
' for his *Purity*, and *Liberality*,
' and also for his *familiar Gesture*
' and good *Behaviour* amongst
' them; by means whereof he
' gained much Love of all the
' People in the North Parts of
' *England.**

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Cardinal's Fall, and how he was arrested of High Treason.

' **W**Hat chanced before his
' last Troubles at *Cay-*
VOL. IV.

' *wood*, is a Sign or Token from
' God, of that which should fol-
G low,

* Would one think, that Mr. *Cavendish* could, after this and other such like Declarations, say, immediately on his Master's Death, *Here is the End and Fall of Pride? &c.*

“*rence*, and at last raised him to the Papal
“Throne.”

But these Writers take no notice how perfidiously the Emperor had dealt with Cardinal *Wolsey*, whom he had twice promised to assist in raising him to the Papal Chair, and both times deceived him: So that the Pope only returned to the Emperor, if the *Spanish* Account be true, what his Imperial Majesty had measured to *Wolsey*. If Men will act falsely by others, why should they complain when they meet with the like Treatment?

The

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘low, I will now, God will-
‘ing, declare. My Lord’s Ene-
‘mies, being then at the Court
‘about the King in good Estima-
‘tion and honourable Digni-
‘ties, seeing now my Lord in
‘great Favour, and fearing the
‘King would now call him Home
‘again, they therefore did plot
‘amongst themselves to dispatch
‘him by Means of some sinister
‘Treason, or to bring him into
‘the King’s great Indignation
‘by some other Means.

‘This was their daily Study
‘and Consultation, having, for
‘their especial Help and Fur-
‘therance, as many vigilant At-
‘tendants upon him, as the Poets
‘feign *Argus* had Eyes.

‘The King, with these their
‘continual Complaints, was
‘moved to much Indignation,
‘and thought it good that the
‘Cardinal should come up, and
‘stand to his Trial in his own
‘Person; which his Enemies did
‘not like of. Notwithstanding
‘he was sent for, and after this
‘Sort.

‘First, they devised that Sir
‘*Walter Welch*, Knt. one of the

‘King’s Privy-chamber, should
‘be sent down with a Commis-
‘sion into the North, and the
‘Earl of *Northumberland*, who
‘was sometimes brought up in
‘the House of my Lord, being
‘joined in Commission with him,
‘should arrest my Lord of High
‘Treason. This being resolved
‘upon, Sir *Walter Welch* pre-
‘pared for his Journey, with his
‘Commission and certain Instru-
‘ments annexed to the same,
‘and took Horse at the Court-
‘gate, upon *Alhollows-day*, to-
‘wards my Lord of *Northum-*
‘*berland*’s.

‘Now I will declare, what
‘I promised before, of a certain
‘Sign or Token of my Lord’s
‘Trouble ensuing.

‘Upon *Alhollows-day* my
‘Lord, sitting at Dinner, hav-
‘ing at his Board’s End *divers of*
‘*his Chaplains* to bear him Com-
‘pany for want of other Guests,
‘you shall now understand, that
‘my Lord’s great Cross, which
‘stood by, fell, and in the Fall
‘broke Dr. *Bonner*’s Head, in-
‘somuch that some Blood ran
‘down. My Lord, perceiving
‘the

The Pope, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*, were the Confederates that entered into a League with *Francis* against the Emperor; the *Italian* Princes in particular set heartily about raising an Army, in order to make a Stand against the Imperialists; and their first Efforts were to succour the Duke of *Milan*, who was closely blocked up in his Castle by the Duke of *Bourbon*, lately returned from *Spain*, having taken upon him the Command of the Emperor's Army. But they were disappointed in their good

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

the Fall thereof, demanded of those that stood by him *What was the Matter, that they stood so amazed?* I shewed him of the Fall of his great Cross upon Dr. *Bonner's* Head: Quoth my Lord, *Hath it drawn any Blood?* -- *Yea*, quoth I. With that he cast his Head aside, and soberly said, *Malum Omen!* and thereupon suddenly said Grace, and rose from Table and went to his Bed-chamber; but what he did there I cannot tell. Now mark how my Lord expounded the Meaning thereof (in his Fancy) to me, at *Pontefract*, after his Fall. First, that the great Cross, that he bare as Archbishop of *York*, betokened himself; and Dr. *Austine*, the Physician who overthrew the Cross, was he that accused my Lord, whereby his Enemies caught an Occasion to overthrow him: It fell on Dr. *Bonner's* Head, who was then Master of my Lord's Faculties, and spiritual Jurisdiction, who was then damaged by the Fall thereof; and moreover the drawing of

Blood betokeneth Death, which did suddenly after follow.

Now the appointed Time drew near for Installation; and, sitting at Dinner, the *Friday* before the *Monday* that he should have been installed at *York*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Mr. *Welch*, with a great Company of Gentlemen of the Earl's House, and of the Country, whom they had gathered in the King's Name, to accompany them, (yet not knowing to what End) came to the Hall of *Caywood*, the Officers being at Dinner, and my Lord not fully dined, nor knowing any thing of the Earl's being come.

The first Thing that the Earl did, after he had set the Hall in order, he commanded the Porter to deliver the Keys of the Gates to him, which he would in no wise do, altho' he was threatned and commanded in the King's Name to make Deliverance thereof to one of the Earl's Servants, which he still refused, saying to the Earl, *That the Keys*
G 2 were

good Intentions ; for the Duke's People were become quite destitute of Provisions, and therefore surrendered the Castle, by Capitulation, on the 24th of *July*, wherein was stipulated, " That his Troops
 " should be conducted to *Como*, where he had a
 " Garrison ; and that he should be allowed the Re-
 " venues of the Place for his Support, till the Em-
 " peror's Pleasure was known."

The *Italian* Writers affirm, " That the Princes
 " of *Italy* were made the Dupes of the *French* and
 " *Eng-*

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

' were delivered to him by his
 ' Lord and Master, both by Oath
 ' and other Command.

' Now some of the Gentle-
 ' men that stood by the Earl,
 ' hearing the Porter speak so
 ' stoutly, said, he is a good Fel-
 ' low and a faithful Servant to
 ' his Master, and speaks like an
 ' honest Man, therefore give him
 ' your Charge, and let him keep
 ' the Keys still ; then said my
 ' Lord, " Thou shalt well and
 " truly keep the Keys to the
 " Use of our Sovereign Lord the
 " King, and you shall let none
 " pass in nor out of the Gates,
 " but such as from time to time
 " you shall be commanded by us,
 " being the King's Commission-
 " ers, during our Stay here:" And
 ' with that Oath he received the
 ' Keys of the Earl, at Master
 ' Welch's Hands ; but of all
 ' these Doings knew my Lord
 ' nothing, for they had stopped
 ' the Stairs that none should go
 ' to my Lord's Chamber, and
 ' they that came down could
 ' not go up again. At length
 ' one escaped up, and shewed
 ' my Lord, that the Earl of

' *Northumberland* was in the
 ' Hall, whereat my Lord won-
 ' dered, and at the first be-
 ' lieved him not, till he heard
 ' it confirmed by another: Then
 ' quoth my Lord, *I am sorry*
 ' *we have dined ; for I fear*
 ' *our Officers have not provided*
 ' *Fish enough for the Entertain-*
 ' *ment of him, with some honour-*
 ' *able Cheer fitting his Estate and*
 ' *Dignity :* But with that my
 ' Lord arose from the Table,
 ' and commanded to let the
 ' Cloth lay, that the Earl might
 ' see how far forth they were at
 ' their Dinners, and as he was
 ' going down the Stairs he en-
 ' countered with my Lord of
 ' *Northumberland*, to whom my
 ' Lord said, *You are heartily wel-*
 ' *come, my Lord, and so they*
 ' embraced each other : Then
 ' quoth my Lord Cardinal, *If*
 ' *you had loved me, you would*
 ' *have sent me Word before of*
 ' *your Coming, that I might have*
 ' *entertained you according to*
 ' *your Honour :* Notwithstanding
 ' *you shall have such Cheer as*
 ' *I can make you for the present,*
 ' *with a right good Will, trust-*
 ' *ing*

“ *English*, by the Treaty concluded at *Cognac*.” But
 on the other Hand these very Writers own, “ That
 “ the Duke of *Urbino* acted but faintly against the
 “ Emperor, or he might have relieved *Milan*: That
 “ if the Duke of *Bourbon* had been hard pressed
 “ in the beginning, he must have abandoned that
 “ Dutchy. But then the Reason, they say, that
 “ the Pope, and the *Venetians* were not so zea-
 “ lous as might be expected, was owing to the
 “ King of *France*’s not sending them the Succour
 “ of

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

‘ ing you will accept thereof in
 ‘ good Part, hoping hereafter to
 ‘ see you oftner, when I shall be
 ‘ more able to entertain you.
 ‘ This said, my Lord took him
 ‘ by the Hand, and led him to
 ‘ his Chamber, whom followed
 ‘ all the Earl’s Servants, and
 ‘ they being there all alone, sav-
 ‘ ing I, which kept the Door
 ‘ as my Office required, being
 ‘ Gentleman-usher, these two
 ‘ Lords standing at a Window,
 ‘ the Earl trembling said, *I ar-*
 ‘ *rest you of High Treason*, with
 ‘ which Words my Lord was
 ‘ well-nigh astonished, standing
 ‘ still a good Space without speak-
 ‘ ing one Word.

‘ But at the last quoth my
 ‘ Lord, *What Authority have you*
 ‘ *to arrest me?* Quoth the Earl,
 ‘ *I have a Commission so to do.—*
 ‘ *Shew it me*, quoth my Lord,
 ‘ *that I may see the Contents there-*
 ‘ *of.—Nay, Sir, that you may not,*
 ‘ quoth the Earl. Then quoth
 ‘ my Lord, *Hold you contented,*
 ‘ *for I will not obey your Arrest,*
 ‘ *for there hath been between your*
 ‘ *Ancestors and my Predecessors*
 ‘ *great Contentions and Debates,*

‘ *and therefore, unless I see your*
 ‘ *Authority, I will not obey you.*

‘ Even as they were debating
 ‘ the Matter in the Chamber,
 ‘ so likewise was Master *Welch* bu-
 ‘ sy in arresting Dr. *Austine*, at the
 ‘ Door, saying, *Go in thou Traitor,*
 ‘ *or I shall make thee*: With that
 ‘ I opened the Portal-door, and he
 ‘ did thrust in Dr. *Austine* before
 ‘ him with Violence. The Mat-
 ‘ ter on both Sides astonished
 ‘ me very much, marvelling
 ‘ what all this should mean, un-
 ‘ til at the last, Master *Welch*,
 ‘ being entered my Lord’s Cham-
 ‘ ber, began to pluck off his
 ‘ Hood, being of the same Cloth
 ‘ his Cloak was, which Hood
 ‘ he wore to the Intent he should
 ‘ not be known, who kneeled
 ‘ down to my Lord; to whom
 ‘ my Lord said, *Come hither, Gen-*
 ‘ *tleman, and let me speak with*
 ‘ *you*, commanding him to stand
 ‘ up, and said thus; *My Lord of*
 ‘ *Northumberland hath arrested*
 ‘ *me, but by what Authority I*
 ‘ *know not, if you be privy thereto,*
 ‘ *and joined with him therein, I*
 ‘ *pray you shew me.—Indeed, my*
 ‘ *Lord, if it please your Grace,*
 ‘ quoth

“ of Troops, he had solemnly promised by the said
“ Treaty.”

The General that commanded in *Naples*, in the Absence of the *Vice-roy*, observing a sort of Diffention among the Confederates, exhorted *Colonna* to take advantage of the Duke of *Urbino's* being from *Rome*, and to make War upon the Pope. This Step excited his Holiness, with the other good Allies, to order the Duke of *Urbino's* Army, then in the *Milanese*, to march into *Naples*. But the *Spanish* General, to avoid

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

“ quoth Master *Welch*, I pray have
“ me excused; there is annexed to
“ our Commission certain Instruc-
“ tions, as you may not see, nor be
“ privy to.—Why, quoth my Lord,
“ be your Instructions such, as I
“ may not see; nor be privy there-
“ unto? yet, peradventure, if I be
“ privy unto them, I may help you
“ the better to perform them; for
“ it is not unknown to you, that
“ I have been of Counsel in as
“ weighty Matters as these are;
“ and I doubt not but I shall do
“ well enough, for my Part, and
“ prove myself a true Man against
“ the Expectations of my cruel
“ Enemies: I see the Matter where-
“ upon it groweth well; there is
“ no more to do I trow; you are of
“ the Privy-chamber, your Name
“ is Mr. *Welsh*; I am content-
“ ed to yield to you, but not to
“ the Earl, without I see his
“ Commission; and also you are
“ a sufficient Commissioner in this
“ Behalf, being one of the Privy-
“ chamber: Therefore put your
“ Commission in Execution, spare
“ me not, I will obey you and the
“ King; for I fear not the Cruel-
“ ty of mine Enemies, no more

“ than I do the Truth of my Al-
“ legiance, wherein, I take God
“ to witness, I never offended his
“ Majesty, in Word or Deed, and
“ therein I dare stand Face to Face
“ with any, having a Deference
“ without Partiality.

“ Then came my Lord of
“ *Northumberland*, and command-
“ ed me to avoid the Chamber;
“ and, being loth to depart from
“ my Master, I stood still and
“ would not remove; on which
“ he spake again and said, *There*
“ *is no Remedy, you must de-*
“ *part*; with that I looked upon
“ my Master, as one who would
“ have said, *Shall I go?* And, per-
“ ceiving by his Countenance,
“ that it was not for me to stay,
“ I departed, and went into an-
“ other Chamber, where were
“ many Gentlemen and others
“ to hear News, to whom I made
“ a Report of what I heard and
“ saw, which was great Heavi-
“ ness to them all.

“ Then the Earl called into
“ his Chamber divers of his own
“ Servants, and after he and Ma-
“ ster *Welch* had taken the Keys
“ from my Lord, he committed

“ the

avoid the Invasion, so ordered it, that *Colonna* desisted from his Project, and made the Pope all the Satisfaction he required for his rash Attempt; the Agreement being signed at *Rome*, on the 2d of *August*, which produced so great an Alteration in Affairs, that *Urbino* quitted his Designs upon *Naples*, the very Point proposed to be gained by the *Spaniards*.

About a Month after this Agreement, and when the Pope least expected it, *Colonna*, in the Night, be-

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

‘ the Keeping of my Lord unto
‘ five Gentlemen, and then they
‘ went about the House, and
‘ put all Things in order, in-
‘ tending to depart the next Day,
‘ and to certify the King and the
‘ rest of the Lords what they had
‘ done.

‘ Then went they busy about
‘ to convey *Dr. Austine* away to
‘ *London* with as much Speed
‘ and Privacy as they could pos-
‘ sibly, sending with him divers
‘ Persons to conduct him, who
‘ was bound to his Horse like a
‘ Traitor.

‘ And this being done, when
‘ it was near Night, the Com-
‘ missioners sending two Grooms
‘ of my Lord’s to attend him
‘ in his Chamber, (where he
‘ lay all Night) the rest of the
‘ Earl’s Men watched in the
‘ Chamber, and all the House
‘ was watched, and the Gates
‘ safe kept, that no Man could
‘ pass or repass until next Morn-
‘ ing.

‘ About eight of the Clock
‘ next Morning, the Earl sent
‘ for me into his Chamber, and
‘ commanded me to go to my

‘ Lord; and as I was going I
‘ met with Master *Welch*, who
‘ called me unto him, and shewed
‘ me how the King’s Majesty
‘ bare unto me his principal Fa-
‘ vour, for the Love and dili-
‘ gent Service that I had per-
‘ formed to my Lord: Where-
‘ fore, quoth he, the King’s Plea-
‘ sure is, that you shall be about
‘ him as Chief, in whom his
‘ Highness putteth great Confi-
‘ dence and Trust; and there-
‘ upon gave me in Writing the
‘ Articles; which when I had
‘ read, I said, I was content
‘ to obey his Majesty’s Plea-
‘ sure, and would be sworn
‘ to the Performance thereof:
‘ Whereupon he gave me my
‘ Oath.

‘ That done, I resorted to my
‘ Lord, whom I found sitting in
‘ a Chair, the Table being ready
‘ spread for him. But, so soon
‘ as he perceived me to come
‘ in, he fell into such woeful
‘ Lamentation, that would have
‘ forced a flinty Heart to mourn.

‘ I then comforted him as well
‘ as I could, but he would not;
‘ for quoth he, *I am much*
‘ *grieved*

between the 19th and 20th of *Sept.* entered *Rome*, with 5 or 6000 Men, which so alarmed his Holiness, that he retired in a very great Panick to the Castle of *St. Angelo*: But, as he was not safe in that Castle, he was persuaded to desert his Allies, and make a separate Truce with the Emperor for four Months.

In the mean time *Fronspurg*, the German General, was on his March with a good Body of Troops into *Italy*, and in a short time arrived on the Borders of the *Milaneſe*.

Here

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq*;

‘grieved that I have nothing
‘to reward you, and the rest of
‘my true and faithful Servants,
‘for all the good Service that
‘they and you have done me, for
‘which I do much lament.

‘Upon Sunday following the
‘Earl and Master *Welch* ap-
‘pointed to set forward; for my
‘Lord’s Horse and mine were
‘brought ready into the Inner-
‘court, where we mounted, and,
‘coming towards the Gate ready
‘to ride out, the Porter had no
‘sooner opened the same, but
‘we saw without ready attend-
‘ing, a great Number of Gen-
‘tlemen and their Servants, such
‘as the Earl had appointed for
‘that Service to attend and

‘conduct my Lord to *Pontefract*
‘that Night.

‘But, to tell you the Truth,
‘there were also many of the
‘People of the Country assem-
‘bled at the Gate, lamenting
‘his Departure, in Number a-
‘bove 3000, who after the open-
‘ing of the Gate that they
‘had a Sight of him, cried out
‘with a loud Voice, *God save*
‘*your Grace!* *God save your*
‘*Grace!* *the foul Evil take them*
‘*that have taken you from us;*
‘*we pray God that Vengeance*
‘*may light upon them.* And
‘thus they run after him through
‘the Town of *Caywood*, for he
‘was there very well beloved
‘both of rich and poor.

C H A P. XX.

*Of the Cardinal’s Entertainment at the Earl of Shrewsbury’s, and
of his Death and Burial at Lieceſter.*

‘AFTER our Departure
‘from *Caywood* we came
‘to *Doncaſter*; the third Day
‘we came to *Sheffield-park*,

‘where my Lord of *Shrewsbury*
‘lived within the Lodge, and
‘the Earl and his Lady, and a
‘great Company of Gentlewo-
‘men

Here he expected the Duke of *Bourbon* to join him, though he was not in a Condition to answer his Expectations; and the Difficulty sprung from his having no Money to pay his Troops, who had positively refused to stir out of *Milan* before they had received their Arrears, and even threatned to pillage the City. To prevent which the Duke laid Hands on the Plate belonging to the Churches, coined it into Money, and paid his Forces part of what was due to them, who had scarce received any thing

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

men and Servants stood without the Gate to attend my Lord's Coming; at whose alighting the Earl received him with much Honour, and, embracing him, said these Words, *My Lord, you are most heartily welcome to my poor Lodge, and I am glad to see you.*

Here my Lord staid a Fortnight, and was most nobly entertained; he spent most of his Time and applied his mind to Prayers, continually in great Devotion. It came to pass as he sat one Day at Dinner, I, being there, perceived his Colour divers times to change; I asked him, *If he was not well?* who answered me with a loud Voice, *I am suddenly taken with a Thing at my Stomach as cold as a Whetstone, and am not well: Therefore take up the Table, and make a short Dinner, and return to me again suddenly.* I made but a little Stay, and came to him again, where I found him still sitting very ill at ease: He desired me to go to the Apothecary and ask him, *If*

he had any thing would break Wind upwards? He told me he had. Then I went and shewed the same to my Lord, who did command me to give him some thereof, and so I did, and it made him break Wind exceedingly: Lo, quoth he, *you may see it was but Wind, for now, I thank God, I am well eased:* And so he arose from the Table and went to Prayers, as he used every Day after Dinner.

In the Afternoon my Lord of *Shrewsbury* sent for me to him, and he said, *Forasmuch as I have always perceived you to be a Man in whom my Lord putteth great Affiance, and I myself knowing you to be a Man very honest;* (with many other Words of Commendations and Praises, more than becometh me to rehearse, he said) *your Lord and Master hath often desired me to write unto the King, that he might answer his Accusations before his Enemies: And this Day I have received Letters from his Majesty by Sir*

thing since the Battle of *Pavia*. This want of Money put the Duke of *Bourbon* upon another Project, in order to raise Cash, which was, to have the Chancellor *Merone* brought to his Trial, for the Attempt already mentioned; who, being condemned to die, gave *Bourbon* 20,000 Ducats to save his Life; and soon after he was so far restored to Favour, that he became one of the *Constable's* chief Counsellors.

Whilst the Duke was exerting himself to get over these

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ William Kingston, whereby I
 ‘ perceive, that the King hath
 ‘ him in good Opinion, and, up-
 ‘ on my Request hath sent for
 ‘ him by the said Sir William
 ‘ Kingston. Therefore now I
 ‘ would have you play your Part
 ‘ wisely with him, in such sort,
 ‘ as he may take it quietly and
 ‘ in good Part, for he is always
 ‘ full of Sorrow and much Hea-
 ‘ vinefs at my being with him,
 ‘ that I fear he will take it
 ‘ ill if I bring him Tidings there-
 ‘ of: And therein doth he not
 ‘ well, for I assure you that the
 ‘ King is his very good Lord,
 ‘ and hath given me most hearty
 ‘ Thanks for his Entertainment:
 ‘ And therefore go your way to him
 ‘ and persuade him, that I may find
 ‘ him in Quiet at my coming, for
 ‘ I will not tarry long after you.

‘ Sir, quoth I, and if it please
 ‘ your Lordship, I shall endeavour
 ‘ to the best of my Power, to ac-
 ‘ complish your Lordship’s Com-
 ‘ mand: But, Sir, I doubt, when
 ‘ I name this Sir William King-
 ‘ ston, that he will mistrust some
 ‘ Ill, because he is Constable of
 ‘ the Tower, and Captain of the

‘ Guard, having in his Com-
 ‘ pany 24 of the Guard to ac-
 ‘ company him.—That is nothing,
 ‘ quoth the Earl, what if he
 ‘ be Constable of the Tower and
 ‘ Captain of the Guard, he is
 ‘ the fittest Man for his Wisdom
 ‘ and Discretion to be sent about
 ‘ such a Business, and for the
 ‘ Guard, it is only to defend him
 ‘ from those that might intend
 ‘ him any Ill. Besides that, the
 ‘ Guard are for the most part
 ‘ such of his old Servants as the
 ‘ King hath took into his Service
 ‘ to attend him most justly.—
 ‘ Well Sir, quoth I, I shall do
 ‘ what I can, and so departed and
 ‘ went to my Lord, and found
 ‘ him in the Gallery with his
 ‘ Staff and his Beads in his Hands,
 ‘ and seeing me come, he asked
 ‘ me, What News?—Forsooth,
 ‘ quoth I, the best News that ever
 ‘ you heard, if you can take it well.--
 ‘ I pray God it be true then, quoth
 ‘ he.--My Lord of Shrewsbury, said
 ‘ I, your most assured Friend, hath
 ‘ so provided by his Letters to the
 ‘ King, that his Majesty hath sent
 ‘ for you by Master Kingston, and
 ‘ 24 of the Guard to conduct you
 ‘ to

these Difficulties, *Lanoy* arrived at *Naples* with a Body of *Spanish* Troops, and began his Artifices by amusing the Pope with a new Negotiation, that tended only to hinder him from taking Measures to preserve himself and the State. But as soon as he had heard of *Fronsperg's* Arrival, and that *Milan* was out of Danger, he changed his Note ; and, in respect to *Francisco Sforza*, whom he had promised should be brought to his Trial, with no other Intention than to save the Honour of the Empire, for that the Judges

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ to his Highness.—Master King-
‘ ston, quoth he, and clapped his
‘ Hand on his Thigh, and gave
‘ a great Sigh.

‘ May it please your Grace,
‘ quoth I, I would you would
‘ take all Things well, it would
‘ be much better for you ; con-
‘ tent yourself, for God’s Sake,
‘ and think that God and your good
‘ Friends have wrought for you,
‘ according to your own Desires :
‘ And, as I conceive, you have
‘ much more Cause to rejoice than
‘ lament or mistrust the Matter ;
‘ for, I assure you that your Friends
‘ are more afraid of you, than
‘ you need be of them : And his
‘ Majesty, to shew his Love to you,
‘ hath sent Master Kingston to
‘ honour you, with as much Ho-
‘ nour as is your Grace’s Due,
‘ and to convey you in such easy
‘ Journeys as is fitting for you,
‘ and you shall command him to
‘ do, and that you shall have
‘ your Request. And I humbly in-
‘ treat you to imprint this my Per-
‘ suasion in your Highness’s Dis-
‘ cretion, and to be of good Cheer,
‘ where-with you shall comfort your-

‘ self, and give your Friends and
‘ poor Servants great Comfort and
‘ Content.—Well, quoth he, I
‘ perceive more than you can ima-
‘ gine, or do know.

‘ Presently after came my Lord
‘ to acquaint him with that I had so
‘ lately related. My Lord thanked
‘ the Earl for his great Love, and
‘ called Master Kingston, who came
‘ to him presently, and, kneel-
‘ ing down before him, saluted
‘ him in the King’s Behalf,
‘ whom my Lord bare-headed
‘ offered to take up, but he
‘ would not : Then, quoth my
‘ Lord, Master Kingston, I pray
‘ you stand up, and leave your
‘ Kneeling to me ; for I am a
‘ Wretch replete with Misery,
‘ esteeming myself but as a meer
‘ Object utterly cast away, but
‘ without Desert, God he knows ;
‘ therefore, good Mr. Kingston,
‘ stand up.

‘ Then Master Kingston said,
‘ The King’s Majesty hath him
‘ commended unto you.—I thank
‘ his Highness, quoth my Lord ;
‘ I hope he is in good Health.—
‘ Yea, quoth Master Kingston,
‘ and

Judges should have private Orders to declare him innocent, he altered his Mind; for he now demanded such a pecuniary Reparation from *Sforza*, that he was in no Condition to pay; so that the Pope's Expectations were thereby frustrated, and *Sforza* still kept out of his Dukedom.

Here we shall introduce *Rapin's* Summary of these different Transactions. "The Pope and the Venetians, says he, had begun the War in Italy on the sole Expectation, that *France* would send thither
" a

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

and he hath him commended unto you, and commanded me to bid you be of good Cheer, for he beareth you as much good Will as ever he did.* And, whereas Report hath been made unto him, that you should commit against his Majesty certain heinous Crimes, which he thinketh not to be, but yet he for Ministration of Justice, in such Cases requisite, could do no less than send for you, that you might have your Trial, mistrusting nothing your Truth and Wisdom, but that you shall be able to acquit yourself of all Complaints and Accusations extended against you; and you may take your Journey to him at your Pleasure, commanding me to attend you.

Master Kingston, quoth my Lord, I thank you for your good

News: And, Sir, hereof assure yourself, if I were as able and lusty as ever I was to ride, I would go with you post; but, alas! I am a diseased Man, having a Flux, (at which Time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself†) and it hath made me very weak; but the comfortable News you bring is of purpose, I doubt, to bring me to a Fool's Paradise, for I know what is provided for me. Notwithstanding I thank you for your good Will, and Pains taken about me, and I shall with Speed make ready to ride with you. After this I was commanded to make all Things ready for our Departure the Morrow after.

When my Lord went to Bed, he fell very sick of the Lask, which caused him to go

* Very great Comfort to be sure, after he had broke his Heart with ill Usage.

† We do not believe these Words were wrote by Cavendish, no more than some others, here and there unnaturally foisted in by some ill-minded Person, we doubt, on purpose to lessen the Magnanimity of the Cardinal's Mind: Nor does it any ways follow, That, because he had a Flux, he had taken Poison.

“ a powerful Army, and the King of *England* make a
 “ Diversion in the *Low Countries* ; or, at least, ac-
 “ cording to Custom, to furnish Money for maintain-
 “ ing the War : The Easiness wherewith he had been
 “ amused in the former Wars caused his Money to be
 “ relied on as a sure Aid ; tho’ when a Peace or Truce
 “ was concluded, this was never thought on. But the
 “ Scene was changed ; *Henry*, being grown more wise
 “ by Experience, was no longer willing to find Mo-
 “ ney for the Affairs of others. Besides, the Treasure
 “ left

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq;*

‘ go to Stool from time to time
 ‘ all that Night, insomuch that,
 ‘ from that time till Morn-
 ‘ ing, he had 50 Stools, and the
 ‘ Matter that he voided was very
 ‘ black, which the Physicians
 ‘ called *Aduſtive* ; whose Opini-
 ‘ ons were, That he had not a-
 ‘ bove four or five Days to live.
 ‘ Notwithstanding, he would
 ‘ have ridden with Mr. *Kingston*
 ‘ the next Day, had not the Earl
 ‘ of *Shrewsbury* advised him to
 ‘ the contrary ; but the Day fol-
 ‘ lowing he took his Journey
 ‘ with Mr. *Kingston*, and them
 ‘ of the Guard, who, espying
 ‘ him, could not abſtain from
 ‘ weeping, conſidering he was
 ‘ their old Maſter, and now in
 ‘ ſuch a miſerable Caſe, whom
 ‘ my Lord took by the Hand,
 ‘ and would, as he rode by the
 ‘ Way, ſometimes talk with one,
 ‘ and ſometimes with another,
 ‘ till he came to a Houſe of my
 ‘ Lord’s ſtanding in the Way,
 ‘ call’d *Hardwick-hall*, where
 ‘ he lay all that Night very ill at
 ‘ eaſe. The next Day he came
 ‘ to *Nottingham*, and the next
 ‘ Day to *Leiceſter-abbey* ; and the

‘ next Day he waxed ſo very
 ‘ ſick, that he had almoſt fallen
 ‘ from his Horſe, ſo that it was
 ‘ Night before he got to *Leiceſter-*
 ‘ *Abbey* ; where, at his coming
 ‘ in at the Gates, the Abbot
 ‘ with all their Convent met him
 ‘ with lighted Torches, whom
 ‘ they honourably received and
 ‘ welcomed with great Reverence.
 ‘ To whom my Lord ſaid, *Fa-*
 ‘ *ther Abbot, I am come to lay my*
 ‘ *Bones amongſt you* ; riding ſtill
 ‘ on his Mule till he came to the
 ‘ Stairs of his Chamber, where
 ‘ he alighted : Maſter *Kingston*,
 ‘ holding him by the Arm, led
 ‘ him up Stairs ; who told me
 ‘ afterwards, *That he never felt*
 ‘ *ſo heavy a Burthen in all his*
 ‘ *Life* : And as ſoon as he was in
 ‘ his Chamber he went ſtraight
 ‘ to Bed : This was upon *Satur-*
 ‘ *day*, and ſo he continued.

‘ On *Monday* in the Morning,
 ‘ as I ſtood by his Bed-side about
 ‘ eight o’Clock, the Windows
 ‘ being cloſe ſhut, and having
 ‘ Wax-lights burning upon the
 ‘ Cupboard, I thought I per-
 ‘ ceived him drawing on towards
 ‘ Death. He, perceiving my
 ‘ Sha-

“left him by the King, his Father, was long since exhausted. He could now raise Money only by Means of the Parliament, which always framed Difficulties, or made him purchase his Subsidies with some extraordinary Favour.*

“So *Francis*, finding him not in the same Disposition as formerly, feared to engage too far before he was secure of his Assistance. He perceived he was no longer inclined to favour the Emperor as before; but that did not suffice, it was also necessary
‘ to

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ Shadow upon the Bed-side,
‘ asked, *Who was there?* Sir,
‘ quoth I, *it is I. How do you?*
‘ quoth he. *Well, Sir,* quoth I,
‘ *if I might see your Grace well.*
‘ *What is it o’Clock?* quoth he.
‘ I answered, *It was about eight*
‘ *o’Clock.* Quoth he, *That cannot*
‘ *be, rehearsing eight o’Clock*
‘ *so many times. Nay,* quoth he,
‘ *that cannot be; for at eight of*
‘ *the Clock you shall see your Mas-*
‘ *ter’s Time draw near, that I*
‘ *must depart this World.* With
‘ that, Doctor Palmer, a worthy
‘ Gentleman, standing by, bid
‘ me ask him, *If he would be*
‘ *scriven, to make him ready for*
‘ *God, whatever chanced to fall*
‘ *out?* which I did: But he was
‘ very angry with me, and asked,
‘ *What I had to do to ask him such*
‘ *a Question?* Till at the last Mr.
‘ Doctor took my Part, and
‘ talked with him in *Latin*, and
‘ pacified him.

‘ After Dinner Master King-
‘ ston sent for me, and said, Sir,
‘ *the King hath sent unto me Let-*
‘ *ters by Master Vincent, our old*
‘ *Companion, who hath been in*
‘ *Trouble in the Tower for Money*
‘ *† that my Lord should have at*
‘ *his Departure, a great Part of*
‘ *which Money cannot be found;*
‘ *wherefore the King, at Master*
‘ *Vincent’s Request, for the De-*
‘ *claration of the Truth, hath sent*
‘ *me hither with his Grace’s Let-*
‘ *ter, that I should examine my*
‘ *Lord, and have your Counsel*
‘ *therein, that he may take it well*
‘ *and in good Part. And this is*
‘ *the Cause of my sending for you,*
‘ *therefore I desire your Counsel*
‘ *therein for Acquittal of this poor*
‘ *Gentleman, Master Vincent.*

‘ Sir, quoth I, according to my
‘ Duty, and by my Advice, you
‘ shall resort unto him in your own
‘ Person to visit him, and in Com-
‘ muni-

* Here *Rapin* falls upon the Parliament, tho’ in the Year 1522 he talked in another Manner.

† ’Tis but too evident, that glorious *Wolsey’s* Disgrace and Fall were more owing to his Master’s vicious and wantonly lucrative Disposition, than to any real Crimes in him deserving such Treatment: And a stronger Instance of strict Uprightness cannot be related of him, nor of any Man, than is here subjoined.

“ to persuade him to join in the League of *Italy*,
 “ otherwise the whole Charge of the War was to
 “ fall upon *France*, which was already too much
 “ drained of Men, Money, and Generals ; for this
 “ Reason his Aim was to induce the Emperor (thro’
 “ Fear of the League) to accept of the Equivalent
 “ offered him for *Burgundy*, and to continue the War
 “ in *Italy* only till that Prince was resolved, or the
 “ King of *England* entirely engaged. To that End
 “ he made the Pope and *Venetians* large Promises,
 “ to

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ munication break the Matter un- ‘ to him : And if he will not ‘ tell you the Truth therein, then ‘ may you certify the King thereof ; ‘ but in any Case name not nor ‘ speak of my Fellow Vincent : ‘ Also, I would not have you de- ‘ tract the Time, for he is very ‘ sick, and I fear that he will ‘ not live past a Day or two. ‘ Accordingly, Master Kingston ‘ went to my Lord, and demand- ‘ ed the Money, saying, That ‘ my Lord of Northumberland ‘ found a Book at Caywood-house, ‘ and says, that you had lately ‘ borrowed 10,000 Pounds, and ‘ there is not so much as one Pen- ‘ ny to be found, who hath made ‘ the King privy to the same ; ‘ wherefore the King hath writ- ‘ ten to me, to know what is be- ‘ come thereof, for it were pity ‘ that it should be holden from you ‘ both : Therefore I require you, ‘ in the King’s Name, to tell me ‘ the Truth, that I may make a ‘ just Report thereof unto his Ma- ‘ jesty of your Answer. ‘ With that, quoth my Lord,	‘ Oh good Lord ! how much doth ‘ it grieve me, that the King ‘ should think any such Thing in ‘ me,* that I should deceive him ‘ of one Penny, seeing I have no- ‘ thing, nor never had, God be my ‘ Judge ! that I ever esteemed so ‘ much my own as his Majesty’s, ‘ having but the bare Use of it ‘ during my Life, and after my ‘ Death to leave it wholly to him ; ‘ wherein his Majesty hath pre- ‘ vented me. But for this Money ‘ that you demand of me, I assure ‘ you it is none of my own ; for ‘ I borrowed it of divers of my ‘ Friends to bury me, and to bestow ‘ amongst my Servants, who have ‘ taken great Pains about me. ‘ Notwithstanding, if it be your ‘ Pleasure to know, I must be con- ‘ tent ; yet, I beseech his Majesty ‘ to see it satisfied, for the Dis- ‘ charge of my Conscience to them ‘ that I owed it to. — Who be ‘ they ? quoth Master Kingston. — ‘ That shall I tell you, quoth my ‘ Lord, I borrowed 200 l. of John ‘ Allen of London, another 200 l. ‘ of Sir Richard Gresham, and ‘ 200 l.
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* As any Man surely would have been, who had served his King so well ; therefore this is no Instance of Pusillanimity.

“ to hinder them from being impatient, but per-
 “ formed them very ill; a small Body of Troops,
 “ under the Command of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*,
 “ was hitherto all that he contributed for the League,
 “ whereof he was himself the Author and Head.”

“ Mean time the Pope was extreemly uneasy at
 “ seeing the Slowness, or rather Coldness, of the two
 “ Monarchs on whom he relied. Indeed he had no
 “ Cause to complain of *Henry*, who had made him
 “ no Promise, and yet he ceased not earnestly to
 “ press

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ 200 l. of the Master of the Sa-
 ‘ voy, and also 200 l. of Dr.
 ‘ Highden, Dean of my College
 ‘ at Oxford; 200 l. of the Trea-
 ‘ surer of the Church, and 200 l.
 ‘ of Mr. Ellis, my Chaplain;
 ‘ and another 200 l. of a Priest:
 ‘ I hope the King will restore
 ‘ it again, forasmuch as it is none
 ‘ of mine.

‘ Sir, quoth Master Kingston,
 ‘ there is no doubt in the King,
 ‘ whom you need not distrust: But,
 ‘ Sir, I pray you where is the
 ‘ Money? Quoth he, I will not
 ‘ conceal it, I warrant you; but
 ‘ I will declare it unto you before I
 ‘ die, by the Grace of God. Have
 ‘ a little Patience with me, I pray
 ‘ you; for the Money is safe enough
 ‘ in an honest Man’s Hands, who
 ‘ will not keep one Penny thereof
 ‘ from the King.

‘ So Master Kingston departed
 ‘ for that Time, my Lord being
 ‘ very weak, and about four of
 ‘ the Clock next Morning, as I
 ‘ conceived, I asked him, How
 ‘ he did?—Well, quoth he, if I
 ‘ had any Meat, I pray you give
 ‘ me some.—Sir, quoth I, there
 ‘ is none ready. Then he said,

‘ You are much too blame; for
 ‘ you should have always Meat
 ‘ for me in a Readiness, when-
 ‘ soever that my Stomach serves
 ‘ me: I pray you get some ready
 ‘ for me; for I mean to make
 ‘ myself strong to-day, to the In-
 ‘ tent I may go to Confession, and
 ‘ make me ready for God. Quoth
 ‘ I, I will call up the Cooks to
 ‘ prepare some Meat, and also I
 ‘ will call Mr. Palmer, that he
 ‘ may discourse with you till your
 ‘ Meat be ready. With a good
 ‘ Will, quoth my Lord: And
 ‘ so I called Master Palmer, who
 ‘ rose directly and came to my
 ‘ Lord.

‘ Then I went and acquainted
 ‘ Master Kingston, That my Lord
 ‘ was very sick, and not like to
 ‘ live.—In good faith, quoth
 ‘ Master Kingston, you are much
 ‘ to blame to make him believe
 ‘ he is sicker than he is.—Well,
 ‘ Sir, quoth I, you cannot but
 ‘ say, I gave you Warning, as I
 ‘ am bound to do. Upon which
 ‘ Words he arose and came unto
 ‘ him; but, before he came,
 ‘ my Lord Cardinal had eaten
 ‘ a Spoonful or two of Callis,
 ‘ made

“ press him to undertake the Defence of the Church ;
 “ as if the Church could not have subsisted, if the
 “ Emperor had remained Master of *Milan* : But he
 “ received only general Answers, *Henry* being un-
 “ willing to engage in the Affairs of *Italy*, where
 “ he could reap no Advantage. In the mean time
 “ the Pope was at an extraordinary Expence, which
 “ threw him into great Streights ; for which Reason
 “ he privately continued with the Vice-roy of *Naples*
 “ a Negotiation, with intent to hasten or retard
 “ it

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ made of Chicken ; and after ‘ that he was in his Confession ‘ the Space of an Hour : And ‘ then Master <i>Kingston</i> came to ‘ him, and bid him, Good-mor- ‘ row, and asked him, how he ‘ did?—Sir, quoth he, I watch ‘ but God’s Pleasure to render up ‘ my poor Soul to him. I pray you ‘ have me heartily commended un- ‘ to his Royal Majesty ; and be- ‘ seech him on my Behalf, to call ‘ to his princely Remembrance all ‘ Matters that have been between ‘ us, from the Beginning and the ‘ Progress ; and especially between ‘ good Queen <i>Katherine</i> and him, ‘ and then shall his Grace’s Con- ‘ science know whether I have ‘ offended him or not.* He is a ‘ Prince of most royal Carriage, ‘ and hath a princely Heart ; but, ‘ rather than he will miss or ‘ want any Part of his Will, he ‘ will endanger the one Half of	‘ his Kingdom. I do assure you ‘ I have often kneeled before him, ‘ sometimes three Hours together, ‘ to persuade him from his Will ‘ and Appetite, but could not ‘ prevail : And, Master <i>King-</i> ‘ <i>ston</i>, had I but served GOD, ‘ as diligently as I have served ‘ the KING, he would not have ‘ given me over in my grey Hairs. ‘ But this is the just Reward that ‘ I must receive for my diligent ‘ Pains and Study, not regarding ‘ my Service to GOD, but only to ‘ my Prince. Therefore let me ad- ‘ vise you, if you be one of the ‘ Privy-council, as by your Wis- ‘ dom you are fit, take heed what ‘ you put in the King’s Head, for ‘ you can never put it out again. ‘ And I desire you further to re- ‘ quest his Grace, in God’s Name, ‘ that he have a vigilant Eye to ‘ suppress the hellish † Lutherans, ‘ that they increase not through his ‘ great
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* This is coming to the Test indeed. Here is Plain-dealing in dying Words ; and the Truth discovered, when he had nothing to expect or fear in this Life.

† This, and what follows, we take to be the Effect of his Zeal for the Religion of his Judgment, and not of a persecuting Spirit, though at
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“ it according to the Proceedings of the Kings of
 “ *England* and *France*. Herein he acted agreeable
 “ to his real Temper, which made him always con-
 “ sider the having two Strings to his Bow as the
 “ safest Maxim of Policy; but he was always so un-
 “ fortunate as to reap, from his Artifices, Fruits con-
 “ trary to his Hopes. As his sole Aim was to hin-
 “ der the Emperor from keeping the Dutchy of
 “ *Milan*, to that End it was he would have the
 “ Kings of *England* and *France* make considerable
 “ Efforts,

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ great Negligence, in such a sort
 ‘ as he be compelled to take up
 ‘ Arms to subdue them, as the
 ‘ King of *Bohemia* was; whose
 ‘ Commons, being infected with
 ‘ Wickliff’s Heresies, the King
 ‘ was forced to take that Course.
 ‘ Let him consider the Story of
 ‘ Richard the IId, the second Son
 ‘ of his Progenitor, who lived in
 ‘ the Time of Wickliff’s Seditious
 ‘ and Heresies: Did not the Com-
 ‘ mons, I pray you, in his Time,
 ‘ rise against the Nobility and
 ‘ chief Governors of this Realm;
 ‘ and at the last some of them
 ‘ were put to Death without
 ‘ Justice or Mercy? And, under
 ‘ Pretence of having all Things
 ‘ common, did they not fall to
 ‘ Spoiling and Robbing, and at
 ‘ last took the King’s Person, and
 ‘ carried him about the City,
 ‘ making him obedient to their Pro-
 ‘ clamations? Did not also the
 ‘ traiterous Heretick, Sir John
 ‘ Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, pitch
 ‘ a Field with Hereticks against

‘ King Henry the IVth, where
 ‘ the King was in Person and
 ‘ fought against them, to whom
 ‘ GOD gave the Victory?

‘ Alas! if these be not plain
 ‘ Presidents, and sufficient Persua-
 ‘ sions to admonish a Prince, then
 ‘ GOD will take away from us
 ‘ our prudent Rulers, and leave us
 ‘ to the Hands of our Enemies;
 ‘ and then will ensue Mischief
 ‘ upon Mischief, Inconveniencies,
 ‘ Barrenness, and Scarcity for
 ‘ want of good Orders in the
 ‘ Commonwealth, from which
 ‘ GOD of his tender Mercy defend
 ‘ us!

‘ Master Kingston, farewel, I
 ‘ wish all Things may have good
 ‘ Success; my Time draws on, I
 ‘ may not tarry with you, I pray
 ‘ you remember my Words.

‘ Now began the Time to
 ‘ draw near, for he drew his
 ‘ Speech at length, and his
 ‘ Tongue began to fail him, his
 ‘ Eyes perfectly set in his Head,
 ‘ his Sight failed him. Then we
 ‘ began

*first Sight it bears such a Face: But the contrary appeared by his Con-
 duct; for we do not find, that he ever was the Cause of any one’s
 Death or Suffering on the Score of Religion.*

“ Efforts, after which he would not have scrupled
 “ to have forsaken them, provided the Emperor
 “ had satisfied him : On that Article *Francis*
 “ was in no better Disposition in regard to his Al-
 “ lies ; his View was to recover his Sons out of *Spain*,
 “ and could he have succeeded by treating with the
 “ Emperor, he would have as little regarded the Con-
 “ cerns of the Pope and *Venetians*.

“ As to the Republick of *Venice*, it was of great
 “ Consequence to her, that the Emperor should not re-
 “ main

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

‘ began to put him in mind of
 ‘ CHRIST’S Passion, and caused
 ‘ the Yeomen of the Guard to
 ‘ stand by privately to see him die,
 ‘ and bear witness of his Words
 ‘ and his Departure, who heard
 ‘ all his Communications.

‘ And then presently the Clock
 ‘ struck eight, at which Time
 ‘ he gave up the Ghost, and thus
 ‘ departed he this Life, one of
 ‘ us looking upon another, sup-
 ‘ posing he prophesied of his De-
 ‘ parture.

‘ We sent for the Abbot of
 ‘ the House to anoint him, who
 ‘ speedily came as he was end-
 ‘ ing his Life, who said certain
 ‘ Prayers before that the Life was
 ‘ out of his Body.

‘ Here is the End and Fall of
 ‘ Pride, for I assure you he was
 ‘ in his Time the *proudest Man*
 ‘ alive, having more regard to
 ‘ the Honour of his Person,

‘ than to his spiritual Func-
 ‘ tion, wherein he should have ex-
 ‘ pressed more Meekness and Hu-
 ‘ mility. For Pride and Ambition
 ‘ are both linked together ; and
 ‘ Ambition is like Choler, which
 ‘ is an Humour that makes Men
 ‘ active, earnest, and full of A-
 ‘ lacrity and Stirring, if it be not
 ‘ stopped or hindered in its Course :
 ‘ But, if it be stopped, and can-
 ‘ not have its Way, it becometh
 ‘ adust, and thereby malign and
 ‘ venomous. So ambitious and
 ‘ proud Men, if they find the
 ‘ Way open for their Rising and
 ‘ Advancement, and still get for-
 ‘ wards, they are rather busy
 ‘ than dangerous : But, if they
 ‘ be checked in their Desires,
 ‘ they become secretly discontent,
 ‘ and look upon Men and Mat-
 ‘ ters with an evil Eye, and are
 ‘ best pleased when Things go
 ‘ backwards ; but I forbear to
 ‘ speak any further herein.*

‘ The

* We much suspect the Genuineness of this whole Paragraph : For
 we cannot easily conceive how Cavendish could so suddenly fall into
 such a Transition of severe Reflections, after he had been so patheti-
 cally conducting his Master thro’ his Adversity to his Death, and so

“ main Master of the *Milaneſe*, and her Expences to
 “ hinder it was nothing, in compariſon to the Pre-
 “ judice ſhe would have received, if he peaceably
 “ held that Dutchy : So never ceaſing to ſollicit
 “ the Kings of *England* and *France*, ſhe continues
 “ the War, though but faintly, in Expectation that
 “ theſe two Monarchs would bear the greater Part of
 “ the Charge.

“ The Pope ſtill continued his Negotiations with
 “ the Vice-roy of *Naples*, which afforded the *Venetians*

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The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ The Cardinal being depart-
 ‘ ed, Maſter *Kingſton* ſent Poſt
 ‘ to *London* one of the Guards :
 ‘ Then was Maſter *Kingſton* and
 ‘ the Abbot in Conſultation a-
 ‘ bout the Funeral, which was
 ‘ ſolemnized the Day after, for
 ‘ Maſter *Kingſton* would not ſtay
 ‘ the return of the Poſt.*

‘ They thought good that the
 ‘ Mayor of *Leiceſter* and his Bre-
 ‘ thren ſhould ſee him perſonally
 ‘ dead, to prevent falſe Reports
 ‘ that he was alive. And in the
 ‘ interim, whiſt the Mayor was
 ‘ ſent for, his Bones were laid in a
 ‘ Coffin, and his Shirt of Hair and
 ‘ his over Shirt of fine Holland
 ‘ were taken off and were put into
 ‘ the Coffin together, with all ſuch
 ‘ Ornaments wherewith he was in-
 ‘ veſted when he was made Arch-
 ‘ biſhop, as Mitre, Croſs, Ring,
 ‘ and Pall, and all other Things
 ‘ due to his Order.

‘ Thus he lay that Day with
 ‘ his Coffin opened and bare-
 ‘ faced, that all that deſired
 ‘ might ſee him ; about three of
 ‘ the Clock he was buried by
 ‘ the Abbot with great Solemnity ;
 ‘ and, being in the Church,
 ‘ his Corps were ſet in the *Lady's*
 ‘ Chapel with many Tapers,
 ‘ and poor Men about him hold-
 ‘ ing the Torches in their Hands,
 ‘ who watched the Corps all that
 ‘ Night, whiſt the Canons ſung
 ‘ divers Dirges and other divine
 ‘ Oriſons : And at four of the
 ‘ Clock the next Morning, the
 ‘ Cardinal's Servants and Maſter
 ‘ *Kingſton* came to the Church
 ‘ to the Execution of many Cere-
 ‘ monies, in ſuch Manner as is
 ‘ uſual at Biſhops Burials : And
 ‘ ſo he went to Maſs, where the
 ‘ Abbot did offer, and divers
 ‘ others ; and then went to bury
 ‘ the Corps in the middle of the
 ‘ ſaid

fully ſhewing his uncommon Reſignation to what beſel him, as well as his hearty good Wiſhes for the Welfare of his Prince and Country, notwithstanding all his Diſappointments. And, if it was really his, we muſt pronounce it, an ungenerous, inconfiſtent Flourish.

* It rather looks as if thoſe about him had poiſoned him, by their hurrying his Corps ſo ſoon out of the Way, and calling in the Magiſtrates of the Town to ſee he was dead. But of this more hereafter.

“ a plausible Reason of not exerting themselves, be-
 “ cause they were afraid his Inconstancy would ren-
 “ der all their Endeavours ineffectual.

“ The Emperor on his Part was no less embar-
 “ rassed, as he had but very little Money, a vigorous
 “ War must have annoyed him very much ; and
 “ therefore, finding the King of *France* made no ve-
 “ ry great Efforts, he did not hasten the fresh Sup-
 “ plies into *Italy*, for fear of raising the Attention
 “ of his Enemies. Besides, since *Fronspberg*’s Arrival
 “ with

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

“ said Chapel. By this Time it
 “ was six of the Clock, being *St.*
 “ *Andrew*’s Day.

“ Then we prepared for our
 “ Journey to the Court, where
 “ we attended his Majesty ; the
 “ next Day I was sent for to the
 “ King, conducted by Master
 “ *Norris*, where the King was in
 “ his Knight-gown of *Rochet*-
 “ velvet furred with *Sables*, be-
 “ fore whom I kneeled the Space
 “ of an Hour, during which
 “ Time his Majesty examined
 “ me of divers Particulars con-
 “ cerning my Lord Cardinal,
 “ wishing rather than 20,000 l.
 “ that he had lived.*

“ He asked me concerning the
 “ 1500 l. which Master *Kingston*
 “ moved to my Lord. Quoth I,
 “ I think I can perfectly tell your
 “ Grace where it is, and who
 “ hath it.—Can you ? quoth the
 “ King ; I pray tell me, and you
 “ shall not be unrewarded.—Sir,
 “ quoth I, after the Departure
 “ of Master *Vincent* from my Lord
 “ at *Scrooby*, who had the Custo-

“ dy thereof, leaving it with my
 “ Lord in divers Bags, he deli-
 “ vered it to a certain Priest
 “ safely to be kept to his Use.—
 “ Is this true ? quoth the King.
 “ —Yea, quoth I, without doubt,
 “ the Priest will not deny it before
 “ me, for I was at the Delivery
 “ thereof, who hath gotten divers
 “ other rich Ornaments, which
 “ are not registered in the Book of
 “ my Lord’s Inventory or other
 “ Writings, whereby any Man is
 “ able to charge him therewith
 “ but myself. Then said the King,
 “ Let me alone for keeping this
 “ secret between me and you ; how-
 “ beit, three can keep Counsel if
 “ two be away ; and, if I knew
 “ my Cap was privy to my Coun-
 “ sel, I would cast it into the Fire,
 “ and burn it : And, for your Ho-
 “ nesty and Truth, you shall be our
 “ Servant in our Chamber, as you
 “ were with your Master. There-
 “ fore go your Ways to Sir John
 “ Gage, our Vice-chamberlain ;
 “ to whom we have spoken al-
 “ ready, to admit you our Servant
 “ in

* A poor Speech to make after so great a Loss : But you see he is
 soon busy after the 1500 l.

“ with the German Troops, he thought himself
 “ strong enough to keep the Dutchy of *Milan*,
 “ which was then his chief Aim.” This was the
 Disposition of these Potentates at the Close of this
 Year.

Affairs of During the Course of these Affairs a
Hungary. bloody War, between the *Turkish* Emperor
 1526. and *Lewis*, King of *Hungary*,† was carried
 on, whose Armies, on the 18th of *August*,
 engaged. The *Ottomans* consisted of 300,000 Men,
 but

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL.

‘ in our Chamber ; and then go ‘ Norfolk. So I received 10l.
 ‘ to the Lord of Norfolk, and he ‘ of the Duke for my Wages,
 ‘ shall pay you your whole Year’s ‘ and 20l. for my Reward, and
 ‘ Wages, which is 10l.—Is it ‘ his Majesty gave me a Cart
 ‘ not so? quoth the King. Yes, ‘ and six Horses, the best that
 ‘ forsooth, and if it please your ‘ I could chuse out of my Lord’s
 ‘ Grace, quoth I. And withal ‘ Horses to carry my Goods,
 ‘ said the King, You shall re- ‘ and five Marks for my Charges
 ‘ ceive a Reward of the Duke of ‘ homewards.*

The END of CAVENDISH’S History.

* We think, if Cavendish had helped his Master’s Creditors to
 the Money, pursuant to his Desire, it would have been rather more
 honourable.

† Hungary is one of the no-
 blest but most unfortunate King-
 doms next to Greece in Europe.
 On the North it is bounded
 by the Upper Poland and Red
 Russia, the Carpathian Moun-
 tains interposing between them ;
 on the East by Transilvania, and
 Moldavia ; on the West by Stiria,
 Austria, and Moravia ; and on
 the South by Sclavonia and Ser-
 via. Baudrand, including Scla-
 vonia, bounds it on the South
 with Croatia, Bosnia, and Servia.
 It extends in Length, from Pres-
 bourgh, along the Danube, to the
 Borders of Transilvania, for the

Space of 300 English Miles, 190
 in Breadth : It takes in all that
 Tract of Land that was hereto-
 fore possessed by the *Jazyges*
Metanastæ, a Samaritan People ;
 and Part of *Pannonia Superior* and
Inferior. It is exceeding fruit-
 ful, yielding Corn and Grass in
 abundance ; and abounds so with
 Cattle, that it is thought they have
 sufficient alone to serve all Europe
 with Flesh, and they certainly send
 yearly into Germany 80,000 Oxen.
 They have Deer, Partridges and
 Pheasants in such Plenty, that any
 Body that can may kill them. They
 have Mines of Gold, Silver, Tin,
 Lead,

but the *Hungarians* did not exceed 20,000. The Action was fatal to *Lewis*, who not only lost the Day, but was himself, in endeavouring to save his Life, drowned in a Morass. By his Defeat and Death most Part of *Hungary* was lost, with the Lives of 200,000 of the Natives, who were cut off by the *Turks* in many Engagements afterwards. *Lewis* was born

Lead, Iron, and Copper; Store of River or Fresh-water Fish; and Wines equal in Goodness to those of *Candia*: The principal Cities are *Buda* or *Offen*, *Presburgh*, *Alba Regalis*, and *Cascharw*.

The *Hungarians* are a Tribe of the *Scythians*, or *Tartars*, who in the Times of *Arnulphus*, Emperor of *Germany*, possessed themselves of *Transilvania*, and the *Upper Hungary*, under *Lewis* the IVth, Successor to *Arnulphus*; having passed the *Danube*, wasted all *Germany*, *Italy*, *Greece*, *Sclavonia*, and *Dacia*; till, broken by the Forces of *Germany*, and their Savageness taken off by the *Christian* Religion, they were first taught, under King *Stephen*, about the Year 1016, by *Albert*, Archbishop of *Prague*, to be more quiet and civilized. This *Stephen* began his Reign in the Year 1000, and, in 23 Descents, this Race continued to 1302; when *Charles Martel*, Son of *Charles*, King of *Naples*, and *Mary*, Daughter of *Stephen* the IVth King of *Hungary*, partly by Election, and partly by Inheritance and Conquest, succeeded to this Crown. To him succeeded *Lewis*, his Nephew, in 1343: *Charles* the IIId, another of his Descendants, in 1383; *Sigismund*, Emperor, and K of *Bohemia*, in the Right of *Mary* his

Wife, eldest Daughter of *Lewis*, in 1387: *Albert* of *Austria*, in the Right of *Elizabeth* his Wife, Daughter of *Sigismund*, in 1438: *Uladislaus*, Son of *Albert* and *Elizabeth*, in 1444; *Mathias Corvinus*, Son of *Johannes Huniades*, by Election, in 1458; *Uladislaus* the IIId, Son of *Casimir* the IVth, King of *Poland*, and *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Albert*, in 1491; *Lewis* the IIId, slain in the Battle of *Mohatz*, succeeded in 1517; and in the Year 1526, *Lewis John Sepusio*, Waywood of *Transilvania*, was chosen: This Prince was ousted for a Time by *Ferdinand*, Brother to the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, but was restored by *Solyman* the *Turk*, who died in 1540. The People thereupon crowned *Stephen*, his Son, an Infant in the Cradle; but *Solyman* seized no less than 23 Counties at once, under Pretence of defending them against *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, who took remaining 32: So that they shared his whole Kingdom between them, which ever since has been wretched enough, being mostly the Seat of War between the *Austrian* and *Ottoman* Empires. It has two Archbishops Sees, *Gran* (*Strigonium*) and *Golocza*, and 13 Bishopricks; six under the first, and seven under the latter.

born without a Skin, had a Beard at fifteen Years of Age, at eighteen his Hair was grey, and was drowned in his twentieth.

The Death of this Prince was a fresh Source of Calamities for *Hungary*: *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, the Emperor's Brother, who had married *Lewis's* Sister *Ann*, made Pretensions to the Crown of that Kingdom, and had for his Competitor *John de Zapol Waywood*, of *Transilvania*; and they were both elected by two different Parties: But *John* put himself under the Protection of the *Turks*, who caused him to be crowned at *Buda*; while *Ferdinand*, supported by his Brother, *Charles* the Vth, was taking Measures to prosecute his Pretensions; and such was the Situation of Affairs in that Part of the World at this Period of Time.

Affairs of
Scotland.
1526.

In the Course of this Year the Faction, that had espoused the Queen's Interest with the Earls of *Arran* and *Hamilton*, attempted to take away the King's Person from the Earl of *Angus*; but, they miscarrying, the Earl resolved to be revenged on those concerned, and as Sir *Walter Scot* was at this Time at the Head of a large Body of Forces, which he had raised, the Earl sent an Herald with Threats, "That, if he did not retire, he should declare him a Traitor." Sir *Walter*,* (who was Laird of *Buccleugh*) nothing daunted

* This Gentleman's Family was both antient and noble, having highly distinguished themselves in the Cause of their Country for many Generations; and in Process of Time Sir *Walter Scot*, one of his Descendents, was advanced to the Title of Lord *Scot*, of *Buccleugh*, on the 16th of *March*, 1619; afterwards *Walter*, his Son, was created Earl of

Buccleugh; and, on the 20th of *April*, 1673, upon Failure of Issue Male the Lady *Ann Scot* became the Heiress of the Family, who was by King *Charles* the II^d created Dutches of *Buccleugh*; and she married the then Duke of *Monmouth*. This Dutches was esteemed not only the greatest Fortune in *Scotland*, but the most accomplished Lady in the

daunted thereat, answered, "He came to do his
" Prince Service, and not only to invite him to his
" House, but to shew the King what Forces he was
" capable of raising, in Case his Majesty should re-
" quire him." After Sir *Walter* had thus declared his
Sentiments, he retired to his Estate; upon this the
Earl did not think proper to take any Steps to his
Pre-

the Isle of *Britain*. Hence it came to pass, that the Duke had also the Title of Duke of *Buccleugh*, and took the Surname of *Scot*, according to the Custom of *Scotland*, where he that marries any great Heiress, or Chief of a Family, is obliged to take upon him her Name, to preserve the Family.

This famous Duke was unfortunately cut off in the 30th Year of his Age, being beheaded on *Tower-hill* on the 15th of *July*, 1685, (but the Cause is so well known, we need not repeat it) who, it might have been truly said, was once the Delight of his Father (*Charles the II*d) and the Darling of the People. He had by his Dutches four Sons and two Daughters: *Charles*, his eldest Son, died young; *James*, his second Son, was stiled Earl of *Doncaster*; but, by his Father's Attainder in *England*, he lost that Title, and took that of Earl of *Dalkeith*, in *Scotland*: This Nobleman married a Daughter of the late Earl of *Rocheſter*, by whom he had four Sons and two Daughters, and died in the late Queen *Ann*'s Reign: And of his four Sons only *Francis* is living, who succeeded him, and, upon his Grandmother's Death,

became Duke of *Buccleugh*, and hath been lately restored to the Title of Earl of *Doncaster*. His present Grace's Son, the Earl of *Dalkeith*, married a Daughter of the late Duke of *Argyll*.

Henry, third Son of the Duke of *Monmouth*, survived his Father, (but *Francis*, his fourth Son, died in the Duke's Life-time.) As to *Henry*, her late Majesty Queen *Ann* was pleased to create him Earl of *Deloraine*, on the 29th of *March*, 1706. This noble Lord is now one of the 16 Peers for *North Britain*, Knight of the most Honourable Order of the *Bath*, one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and Major General of his Majesty's Forces. His Lordship's first Lady was *Ann*, Daughter of *William Duncombe*, Esq; by whom he had two Sons: This Lady died in 1720, and in the Year 1725 his Lordship married *Mary*, Daughter of Colonel *Philip Howard*, (who was one of the Maids of Honour to the late Queen *Carolina*, when Princess of *Wales*; and by his present Countess (allowed by all to be a Lady of distinguished Merit) he has one Daughter, born in *February*, 1727.

Prejudice, though he pursued others who persisted in their Designs.

This Earl's Sister, the Lady *Jane Douglas*, intermarried with *John Lord Glames*.*

Affairs of Ireland, 1526. *Coner O Brien* was the last of 12 Princes of the *O Brien* Family, after the Landing of King *Henry* the II^d in *Ireland*, who reigned successively in *Thomond*, and were stiled either Kings of *Limerick* or *Thomond*, instead of being Sovereign Monarchs of *Ireland*, as their Ancestors deservedly were.

Teige and *Donogh*, who were the next Brothers to *Conor*, died without Issue; but *Murrough*, the younger, married *Eleanor*, Daughter of *Thomas Fitzgerald*, called *Knight of the Valley*; and by her he had *Dernwid O Brien*, who was the first Baron of *Inchiquin*:† And the said *Conor*, the last King of *Thomond*, having a Son who was a Minor, to whom the Principality of Right belonged, but the Uncle had possessed himself of it by Violence.

This *Murrough* resigned the Title and Principality to the King, who was pleased to create him Earl of *Thomond* during Life. Mean time *Donogh*, the Son of *Coner*, was made Baron of *Ibrican*, and, after his Uncle's Decease, *Edward* the VIth was pleased to create him Earl of *Thomond*, and limited the same to him and his Heirs Male. ||

This

* From this Lord the present Right Hon. *Thomas Lyon*, Earl of *Strathmore*, &c. is descended, one of whose Ancestors was first created Earl of *Kinghorn*, the 10th of *July*, 1606, which Title was afterwards changed to *Strathmore*.

† From this Nobleman the present Right Hon. *William O Brien*, Earl of *Inchiquin*, is descended; who married the Lady *Ann Hamilton*, eldest Daughter

of the late Earl of *Orkney*, by whom he has several Children.

‡ The Pretence being a most unreasonable Custom, called *Tha-nistry*, then used in *Ireland*, whereby the 'Estate and Title' was to descend for Life only, 'upon the eldest and worthiest' Man of the Blood of the Surname of him that died last 'seized.'

|| By Virtue of which Patent the late Right Hon. *Henry* Earl of

This Year the King was pleased to create *Vlick def Burgh** Earl of *Clanrickard*, and to make his Son, the Duke of *Richmond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and *Richard Nugent*, Lord Baron of *Delvin*,† Lord Deputy, who could the easier keep the Kingdom quiet, because the two great Enemies and Competitors, the Earls of *Kildare* and *Ormond*, were both in *England*. About this time the Title of *Ormond* was taken from Sir *Pierce Butler*, who was with great Pomp, in lieu thereof created Earl of *Offory*, at *Windsor*, on the 23d of *February*; and whoever is curious enough to see a Copy of the Patent, and a full Account of the whole Solemnity, may find it *Lib. G. 121.* in the Library at *Lambeth*.

But it is to be observed, that among other Noblemen and Gentlemen, who contributed greatly towards the Peace of this Country, was *Luke Dillon*, Esq; ‡ who had considerable Estates in the Counties of *Meath*, *Roscomon*, and *Longford*.

Now we are speaking of the Affairs of *Ireland*,
K 2 we

of *Thomond* enjoyed the Title, being lineally descended from the said *Donogh*; also to that of Viscount of *Tadcaster*, in the County of *York*, his Brother being created so by the late King *George* the 1st, *October* the 5th, 1714; and, this last Earl dying without Issue-male, the Title is extinct, tho' a considerable Part of the Estate goes to one of the Sons of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Inchiquin*.

One of the Ancestors of the present Rt. Hon. *Thomas Fitz-Morris*, Earl of *Kerry*, married a Daughter of ——— *O'Brien*, Prince of *Thomond*: And of this Family is also the present Rt. Hon. *Daniel O'Brien*, Ld. Viscount *Clare*.

* This Peer was descended from a very antient Family, one

of whom had been Earl of *Ulster*, who married *Maud*, 2d Daughter to *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, second Son to *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, second Son of King *Henry* the 3rd; and from this great Family the present Earl of *Clanrickard* is descended.

† From this noble Lord the present Right Hon. *Thomas Nugent*, Earl of *Westmeath*, and Baron of *Delvin*, is descended.

‡ This Gentleman's Son, *Luke Dillon*, Esq; was Chief Baron of the *Exchequer* in the Year 1570; and, in the Reign of King *James* the 1st, Sir *Robert Dillon*, Knt. was created Earl of *Roscomon*; and from this Peer the present Right Hon. *James Dillon*, Earl of *Roscomon*, is descended.

we shall here take notice, that we omitted to mention, under the Head of the Affairs of *Ireland*, in the Year 1494, that the *Order of the Garter* was established in *Ireland*, and among others Sir *Nicholas Taaf*,* and Sir *Robert Preston*,† were two of the first Members, it consisting only of 13, which was set aside by Act of Parliament the same Year.—And,

In the Year 1499, that *Thomas Lord Barrymore* was slain by his Brother *David*, who was Archdeacon of *Cork*, but upon what Occasion, or whether he was punished for it, our Historian does not tell us, only saying, “That *David*, Lord *Barrymore*, ‡ was one of the Lords of Parliament in “1579.”

Whilst *Turky*, *Hungary*, *Italy*, *France*,
Affairs of *Spain*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* were thus em-
England. || ployed, “*Henry*, as *Rapin* admits, peacea-
 1526. bly enjoyed his Kingdom:” And then
 he observes, “That, ever since the Publishing of the
 “League

* This Knight was of an antient Family, some of whom were very instrumental, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, in reducing the *Irijs* to her Majesty's Obedience; and from him the Rt. Hon. *Theobald Taaf*, Earl of *Carlingford*, is descended.

† From this Gentleman the present Right Hon. *Jenico Preston*, Lord Viscount *Gormanston*, is de-

scended; one of whose Ancestors was Lord Deputy of *Ireland* in *Henry* the VIIIth's Time.

‡ This Nobleman had a considerable Estate in the County of *Cork*; from whom is descended the Right Hon. *James* Earl of *Barrymore*; and by his present Countess, Sister to *Arthur Chichester*, Earl of *Donegal*, has several Children living.

|| We think it best here to introduce not only Translations of several Letters from the Doge of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Milan*, to the King, Queen, and Cardinal *Wolfey*, after the Battle of *Pavia*, but also King *Francis*'s Oath, to confirm the Treaties concluded between *England* and *France* during his Captivity, (which we have from *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XLV.) in Support of what we have related touching the different Negotiations carried on from that Period down to this Year.

“ League of *Cognac*, these Powers (*Rome* and *Venice*)
 “ had used their constant Endeavours to persuade
 “ *Henry* to come into it, as also to declare himself
 “ Protector thereof. They also ordered their Am-
 “ bass-

ANDREW GRITTI, *Doge of Venice, to the KING.*

‘ We send to your most se-
 ‘ rene Majesty, the noble and
 ‘ our most beloved Citizen, Dr.
 ‘ *Lawrence Aurium*, Knt. to re-
 ‘ side as our Ambassador at your
 ‘ Court, whom we have order-
 ‘ ed, in his Instructions, to ac-
 ‘ quaint your Majesty with cer-
 ‘ tain Matters; and we pray
 ‘ your Highness to give the same
 ‘ Credit to what our Ambassador
 ‘ shall say, which proceeds from
 ‘ our Will, as if spoken by our-
 ‘ selves in your Presence. Given
 ‘ in our *Ducal Palace*, on the
 ‘ last Day of *March*, 1525.’

ANDREW GRITTI, *Doge of Venice, to the QUEEN.*

‘ We send the noble and our
 ‘ beloved Citizen, Dr. *Mark An-*
 ‘ *thony de Venerio*, as our Amba-
 ‘ sador to his Majesty’s Court,
 ‘ with Instructions to impart cer-
 ‘ tain Matters to your Majesty in
 ‘ our Name.

‘ We entreat your Majesty to
 ‘ have the same Regard for what
 ‘ he says, as if spoken by us in
 ‘ your Presence. Given in our
 ‘ *Ducal Palace*, on the 28th Day
 ‘ of *July*, 1526.’

The Doge of Venice to WOLSEY.

‘ Most Rev. Father in Christ,
 ‘ we send the noble and our most
 ‘ beloved Citizen, Dr. *Mark An-*
 ‘ *thony Venerio*, as our Ambassa-
 ‘ dor to the most serene and most

‘ excellent King of *England* and
 ‘ *France*, whom we have en-
 ‘ joined to visit you, and to re-
 ‘ late several Things to you in
 ‘ our Name.

‘ Therefore, we entreat you
 ‘ to give such Credit to the
 ‘ Words of the said Ambassador,
 ‘ who shall speak the Sentiments
 ‘ of our Mind, as if delivered
 ‘ by ourselves. Given in our
 ‘ *Ducal Palace*, on the 23d of
 ‘ *July*, 1526.’

FRANCIS SFORZA, *Duke of Milan, to the Cardinal of YORK.*

‘ Most Rev. most illustrious
 ‘ Lord, and honoured Father,
 ‘ we lately received your Lord-
 ‘ ship’s Letters from Sir *Gregory*
 ‘ *Cassali*, who, in your Name,
 ‘ had communicated several
 ‘ Things to us, relating to the
 ‘ most *Christian King’s* Glory,
 ‘ your Lordship’s Honour and
 ‘ Credit, the common Safety of
 ‘ *Italy*, and our Welfare, than
 ‘ which nothing could be more
 ‘ acceptable to us in this Storm;
 ‘ for we are so tossed, that with-
 ‘ out his Majesty’s Assistance and
 ‘ your most Rev. Lordship’s
 ‘ Help, we must be dashed on
 ‘ the Rocks.

‘ The Arrival of his Majesty’s
 ‘ Ambassadors in *Italy* was very
 ‘ seasonable, for they persuaded
 ‘ several of the *Italian* Princes of
 ‘ his Majesty’s Desire of defend-
 ‘ ing them, and the Imperial
 ‘ Digni-

“bassadors, in case the King would accept of
 “what they proposed, to settle with him the Pen-
 “sion he was to have : But this Pension was not to
 “be raised till they had conquered *Naples* and *Mi-*
 “*lan.*” It seems then, upon the Hopes of an imaginary
 Pension, the Pope meant to persuade *Henry* to declare
 War

‘Dignity ; neither are we dif-
 ‘fident, but that our Enemies,
 ‘being deterred from being de-
 ‘sirous of new Adventures, may
 ‘be brought perhaps to a sound
 ‘Way of Thinking.

‘As to what interests our-
 ‘selves we are not ignorant,
 ‘that all is to be done thro’ the
 ‘Authority, Endeavours, and
 ‘Care of your most reverend
 ‘Lordship, that some time or
 ‘other we may be at Rest, and
 ‘return you such Thanks as we
 ‘are able, beseeching you to
 ‘continue us your pious Offices ;
 ‘and we, in all Changes of Af-
 ‘fairs, shall not only venture our
 ‘Fortune, such as it is, but our-
 ‘selves also for your Welfare
 ‘and Honour.

‘What the State of War, as
 ‘well as that of *Italy*, is, your
 ‘most Rev. Lordship will learn
 ‘from *Augustin Scarpinello*, our
 ‘Minister there. I cannot, out
 ‘of my Duty to his Majesty,
 ‘be silent on the fine Oppor-
 ‘tunity, which now offers, of
 ‘carrying the *British* and Im-
 ‘perial Standard into *France* ;
 ‘for while the disheartened Ene-
 ‘my is employed here, such an
 ‘Enterprize would be very easi-
 ‘ly accomplished. We humbly
 ‘commend ourselves, and all
 ‘that belong to us, to your most
 ‘Rev. and Illustrious Lordship,

‘whom we pray may long hap-
 ‘pily live and prosper.

‘*Cremona, Feb.*

‘27, 1525.

‘FRANCIS, D. of Milan.’

*The Duke of MILAN to the
 KING.*

‘Most Serene and most Christian
 ‘Lord,

‘Sir Gregory *Cassali*, being on
 ‘his Return to your most *Chris-*
 ‘*tian Majesty*, I could not let
 ‘pass such an Opportunity of un-
 ‘folding some Things to him, that
 ‘he may lay them before your
 ‘Majesty ; and I most humbly
 ‘entreat you to give the same
 ‘Credit to him, as if I myself
 ‘should speak to you.

‘One Thing I must not con-
 ‘ceal, and that is, that I am
 ‘the Person who owe my Estate
 ‘and Life to your most *Christian*
 ‘Majesty, to whom I humbly
 ‘recommend myself and mine.
 ‘Given at *Milan*, on the 12th
 ‘of *March*, 1525.

‘FRANCIS, D. of Milan.’

*The Duke of Milan's Letter to
 the Cardinal of YORK.*

‘Most Reverend, most Illustrious,
 ‘and most Honoured Lord and
 ‘Father,

‘We have communicated se-
 ‘veral Things to Sir Gregory
 ‘*Cassali*, relating to our En-
 ‘gagements to his Most *Christian*
 ‘Ma-

War against the Emperor, and consequently draw him into a very great Expence. “ But, for once, “ continues *Rapin*, the King would not be his Dupe: “ He knew, by Experience, what it was to join with “ the Pope in the *Italian Affairs*.” This surely shews that the Court of *London* attended only to the preserv-
ing

‘ *Majesty*, and our Regard for
‘ your Lordship, which tend to
‘ the Exaltation of the one, and
‘ the Honour and Advantage of
‘ the other; neither have we
‘ been silent on the Hopes we
‘ conceive, from both your Cle-
‘ mencies, whom we join in
‘ this Union of Succour——†
‘ As the aforesaid Knight is to
‘ lay the whole before your most
‘ Rev. Lordship, we entreat you
‘ to give the same Attention to
‘ him, as if we ourselves con-
‘ ferred with you; and we most
‘ humbly recommend ourself,
‘ and ours to your most Rev.
‘ Lordship, and pray for your
‘ Happiness. Given at *Milan*,
‘ on the 12th of *March*, 1525.

‘ FRANCIS, D. of Milan.’

† This Blank, we suppose, was left to be filled up with the Sum stipulated for Sforza.

King FRANCIS the Ist’s Oath.

‘ We Francis, by the Grace
‘ of GOD King of *France*, do
‘ promise on our Honour and
‘ Royal Word, and do swear
‘ by the Canon of the Mass
‘ and holy Evangelists, by us
‘ now touched, that we shall
‘ maintain and cause to be main-
‘ tained, by our Kingdom, Coun-
‘ tries, Lordships, and Subjects,
‘ firmly and inviolably, the Treas-
‘ ty of Peace, Union, and Friend-

‘ ship, made and concluded on
‘ the 10th Day of the Month of
‘ *August* last past, by the Depu-
‘ ties, Proxies, and Commissaries
‘ of the most High and most
‘ Powerful Prince, our most dear,
‘ and most beloved Brother, and
‘ Cousin, the King of *England*,
‘ and the Ambassadors, Proxies,
‘ and Commissaries of us, and of
‘ our most dear and most beloved
‘ Lady and Mother.

‘ And further we ratify, ap-
‘ prove, and hold agreeable, all
‘ and every the Clauses and Arti-
‘ cles, in all their Effects and
‘ Tenours, which are more at
‘ length declared in the said re-
‘ spective Treaties, made and
‘ concluded between the Depu-
‘ ties aforesaid; and the before-
‘ mentioned Ambassadors and
‘ Commissaries of us, and of our
‘ said Lady and Mother, in this
‘ Behalf, bearing Date as above.

‘ And we swear, as before, to
‘ observe and inviolably keep
‘ each and every Article of the
‘ said Treaties, without counter-
‘ veneing or infringing on any
‘ or either of them in any Shape
‘ or Manner whatsoever.

‘ In Testimony whereof we
‘ have signed these Presents with
‘ our Hand, and caused our se-
‘ cret Seal to be fixed thereunto,
‘ at *Cognac*, the 10th Day of
‘ *May*, 1526.

‘ FRANCIS.’

ing a Balance of Power in *Europe*, and not to keep so close to either of those great Powers, as to see the lesser States ruined, which, by *Henry's* Junction with them, would have been inevitably the Case: Is it not therefore highly to *Wolsey's* Honour, that he advised his Master to keep clear of being too deeply engaged in the Affairs of foreign Princes, when *England* was not immediately concerned in Interest? And perhaps he had, in most of the Courts of *Europe*, more Influence than ever fell to the Share since, or will again, of any Premier Minister: For we find him for the Space of 12 Years (not to carry the Observation beyond the Time he was made Archbishop of *York*) presiding at the Helm of Government, regulating Treaties of Peace and Commerce, the Operations of War and all publick Affairs, relating both to the Civil and Ecclesiastical State, in a Manner that has not many if any Equals; all this while continuing in the good Graces of a Prince, not the most celebrated in History, for a steady and constant Affection towards those, whom he had sometimes distinguished as the peculiar Objects of his Favour.

State of Religion.

1526.

Luther finding the King, after the great Indignities that had been offered him, was not so easily mollified by a Submission that carried in it only a Shew of Repentance, but in Fact was highly affronting to his Majesty,* inasmuch as it aimed to pierce him through

* *Luther's* Sentiments and Epithets, in his *first* and *second* Letters, in Answer to the King's Book, are so extraordinary, that we have given many of them a Place here.

‘ Nothing less than a glorious
‘ King plays the Orator! —
‘ It was sufficient the *new* De-
‘ fender of the Church and the

‘ Deity, lately sprouted up in
‘ *England*, had said so! —
‘ When was it lawful to act
‘ the Buffoon with distinguished
‘ Words, in an Affair so serious
‘ and sacred? — I, without a
‘ Mask, openly do say, that
‘ this *Henry*, King of *England*,
‘ is a *Liar*, and that he has
‘ acted, by his Lies, more like

‘ a

through his Minister's Sides, and charged him in effect with the Publication of a Book in his own Name, of which he was not the Author ; which caused him to repent of writing this penitential * Letter ;

‘ a vain Jester, than a King.—
 ‘ Kingly Majesty, and my own
 ‘ Humility reproach me, while
 ‘ I speak to a *lying Scoffer*,
 ‘ screened with the Title of a
 ‘ King.—If the King be a *Fool*,
 ‘ he becomes forgetful of Royal
 ‘ Majesty, that he may appear
 ‘ to the Publick by his known
 ‘ Lies, and that, while he treats
 ‘ of sacred Matters ! ——— Why
 ‘ should it not be allowed beau-
 ‘ tiful in me, to cram those
 ‘ Lies down his Throat again ?
 ‘ That, if he had conceived
 ‘ any Pleasure from his Lies a-
 ‘ gainst the Divine Majesty, the
 ‘ same may be short-lived by
 ‘ hearing the Truth against his
 ‘ own Majesty. ——— Lastly,
 ‘ The Intent of this King is so
 ‘ foolish, that it is contrary to
 ‘ Common Sense. ——— These
 ‘ are the *foolish* and *ridiculous*
 ‘ Works of *Henry* and *Thomas*
 ‘ (*Aquinas.*) ——— Restless Sa-
 ‘ tan does this, that he might
 ‘ divert us from the Studies of
 ‘ the Scriptures, through the
 ‘ Means of cursed *Henrys*, *sacri-*
 ‘ *legious Thomists*, &c. ———
 ‘ These are my Guards, which
 ‘ strike *Henrys*, *Thomists*, *Pa-*
 ‘ *pists*, and whatever there be of
 ‘ such like impious and sacrile-
 ‘ gious Dregs, Rabble, and Jakes,
 ‘ speechless and dumb.—If he
 ‘ had erred like a Man, he
 ‘ should have been pardoned ;
 ‘ but as this damnable *Corrup-*
 ‘ *ter* and *Reptile*, knowingly and

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‘ wittingly, frames Lies against
 ‘ the Majesty of my Celestial
 ‘ King, it will be lawful for me,
 ‘ in Defence of my own King,
 ‘ to bespatter his *English* Majesty
 ‘ with Mud and Nastiness, and
 ‘ to trample this *blasphemous*
 ‘ Crown under my Feet.

* LUTHER to HENRY the VIIIth.
 ‘ Grace and Peace in *Jesus*
 ‘ *Christ*, our Lord and Saviour,
 ‘ Amen.

‘ Though I deservedly ought
 ‘ to fear, most serene King and
 ‘ illustrious Prince, addressing
 ‘ your Majesty with my Letters,
 ‘ having been, as I am very con-
 ‘ scious, most grievously offend-
 ‘ ing to your Majesty in my
 ‘ Answer, which not of any
 ‘ Propensity of my own, but ex-
 ‘ cited thereto by those who had
 ‘ no great Regard for your Ma-
 ‘ jesty, I ignorantly and hastily
 ‘ published. However, your Ma-
 ‘ jesty's Royal Clemency, the
 ‘ Encomiums whereof, which I
 ‘ daily receive in Writing, and al-
 ‘ so from a great many Travellers,
 ‘ gives me Hopes and Courage
 ‘ to believe, that when you ac-
 ‘ knowledge yourself to be mor-
 ‘ tal, you will cherish no im-
 ‘ mortal Enmities. I have also
 ‘ been informed, by very credit-
 ‘ able Persons, that the Book
 ‘ published against me, with
 ‘ your Majesty's Name, was not
 ‘ wrote by the King of *England*,
 ‘ as those deceitful Sophisters
 ‘ would

L

ter ; upon which *Luther* declared he wrote it to gratify his Friends ; in particular *Christern*, King of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and *Erasmus*, who thought his Stile too severe, and wished him to soften it ;

‘ would have it, who abused
 ‘ your Majesty’s Title, without
 ‘ any Apprehension of the Pre-
 ‘ cipice they prepared for them-
 ‘ selves, by incurring your In-
 ‘ dignation, particularly that
 ‘ *Monster*, that *Object* of the
 ‘ publick Hatred both of God
 ‘ and Man, that *Pest* of your
 ‘ Kingdom, the Cardinal of
 ‘ *York* : I am now in the greatest
 ‘ Confusion, and even afraid to
 ‘ raise my Eyes before your Ma-
 ‘ jesty, after having suffered my-
 ‘ self, by the Levity of those ma-
 ‘ lignant Operators, to be pro-
 ‘ voked against so great a King ;
 ‘ I, who am but a Dreg, or a
 ‘ Reptile, and deserve to be
 ‘ cloathed with nothing but Con-
 ‘ tempt or Neglect. I must add
 ‘ to these Considerations, that
 ‘ which seriously compels me,
 ‘ to mean to write, which is,
 ‘ that your Majesty has began
 ‘ to favour the Gospel, and to
 ‘ be not a little obnoxious to
 ‘ these Sort of lost Men. This
 ‘ was News truly Evangelick,
 ‘ and joyful to me. Wherefore,
 ‘ with this Letter, I do in the
 ‘ most humble Manner I am
 ‘ capable of, prostrate myself at
 ‘ your Majesty’s Feet, beseech-
 ‘ ing and imploring your Ma-
 ‘ jesty, by the Cross and Glory
 ‘ of Christ, to vouchsafe me Par-
 ‘ don and Forgiveness of what-
 ‘ ever I have offended you in,
 ‘ as Christ has and commanded
 ‘ that we should mutually for-

‘ give one another. Besides, if
 ‘ it be not disagreeable to your
 ‘ Majesty, that I should pub-
 ‘ lickly retract in another Book,
 ‘ what I have rashly advanced,
 ‘ and pay due Respect to your
 ‘ Majesty’s Name, be graciously
 ‘ pleased to signify it to me ;
 ‘ then I shall without Delay most
 ‘ willingly comply. Though I
 ‘ am as nothing, comparatively
 ‘ to your Highness, yet no small
 ‘ Fruit may by this Means be
 ‘ hoped for, both to the Gospel
 ‘ and the Glory of God, if
 ‘ Leave be granted me to write
 ‘ in Defence of the Gospel to the
 ‘ King of *England*.

‘ In the mean Time, the Lord
 ‘ continue to encrease your Zeal,
 ‘ that you may, with the Ful-
 ‘ ness of the Spirit, both obey
 ‘ and favour the Gospel, and
 ‘ not suffer your royal Ears or
 ‘ Mind to be prejudiced by the
 ‘ pestilential Voices of the *Mer-*
 ‘ *maids*, who breathe nothing else
 ‘ but That *Luther* is an Here-
 ‘ tick ! Your Majesty may weigh
 ‘ with yourself, what unsound
 ‘ Doctrine I am capable of
 ‘ broaching, who teach no other
 ‘ than Faith in *Jesus Christ* the
 ‘ Son of God, through the Me-
 ‘ rits of whose Passion and Re-
 ‘ surrection we are to be saved,
 ‘ as the Gospel and the Epistles
 ‘ of the Apostles testify. This is
 ‘ the Basis and Foundation of my
 ‘ Doctrine, on which I after-
 ‘ wards build and teach Chari-
 ‘ ty

it; he therefore resolved to take another Course :
 “ For it was a foolish Thing (says he) to look for
 “ Religion among Courtiers, or to expect that we
 “ should find in royal Palaces the Spirit of *John the*
 “ *Baptist.*” Notwithstanding his Sarcastm, there have
 been many *truly religious Courtiers.*

It has been pretty generally acknowledged, that
Luther ought to have been more calm in his Po-
 lemical Pieces; and not doubted by any, that his
 intemperate Zeal did often Disservice to his Designs
 of *Reformation.*

L 2

Luther

‘ ty towards our Neighbours,
 ‘ Obedience to the Civil Ma-
 ‘ gistrates, and to mortify the
 ‘ Flesh, as the *Christian* Doctrine
 ‘ prescribes. What Evil can there
 ‘ be in this Doctrine? Let it
 ‘ be tried, heard, and judged
 ‘ first. Why am I declared
 ‘ guilty, or convicted without a
 ‘ Hearing? Is it because I tax
 ‘ the Abuse and Tyranny of the
 ‘ Popes, who teach a Doctrine
 ‘ quite different and contrary to
 ‘ the aforesaid Heads? Do not
 ‘ they indulge themselves with
 ‘ Pomp and Luxury? Do not
 ‘ they gripe at Kingdoms, Prin-
 ‘ cipalities, and the Riches of
 ‘ all? Do not the Vulgar both
 ‘ feel and condemn the same?
 ‘ And are not they themselves
 ‘ compelled to acknowledge it?
 ‘ Why do not they reform them-
 ‘ selves and teach true Doctrine,
 ‘ if they desire to be free from
 ‘ Hatred and Reproach? Your
 ‘ Majesty may see how many
 ‘ *German Princes*, and learned
 ‘ Men join with me; and,
 ‘ thank God, wish me Success.
 ‘ To which Number I desire
 ‘ that *Jesus* may add your Ma-
 ‘ jesty, and dis sever you from

‘ those Tyrants of Souls. But
 ‘ what wonder is it, if the Em-
 ‘ peror and other Princes rage
 ‘ against me? *Do not*, as the
 ‘ second Psalm tells us, *the Hea-*
 ‘ *thens roar against the Lord and*
 ‘ *his Anointed, the People conspire*
 ‘ *against him, and the Kings*
 ‘ *and Princes of the Earth com-*
 ‘ *bine together?* So that it is to
 ‘ be admired, if any King or
 ‘ Prince should favour the
 ‘ Gospel.

‘ How much do I long, from
 ‘ the Bottom of my Heart, to
 ‘ congratulate with your Ma-
 ‘ jesty on such a Miracle, and
 ‘ that the Lord, who is pre-
 ‘ sent and consenting to these
 ‘ Lines, may co-operate with my
 ‘ Words, that the King of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land* may shortly be a perfect
 ‘ Disciple of *Christ*, and a Pro-
 ‘ fessor of the Gospel, as well
 ‘ as *Luther’s* most gracious Lord.
 ‘ An Answer, if it shall seem
 ‘ mete to your Majesty, I hum-
 ‘ bly expect.

‘ *Your Majesty’s*

‘ *most obedient Servant,*

‘ MARTIN LUTHER.

‘ *Wirtemberg, Sept. 1, 1525.*’

Luther and *Calvin* were not the only Zealots who had set up for *reforming* the Church: For there sprung in *Germany* another Sect, whose Leader was *Thomas Muncer*, once a Priest and Follower of *Luther*; who, falling off from him, set up a new Opinion of his own; and, pretending to a more refined Revelation, drew after him no less than 30,000 of the Peasantry, even promising to exempt them from paying Taxes to their Sovereigns, or Rent to their Landlords; which Multitude, in several Bodies, plundered the Country, and made great Havock; but at last many of them were, in several Battles, routed and cut to Pieces by the General of the League of *Suabia*. At first these were called *Muncerians*, after the Name of their Leader; such of them as were taken Prisoners were publicly executed, in order to deter others from following their Examples; yet they were not totally destroyed, since there are at this Day a great many who were derived from them, in different Parts of *England*, tho' they follow not their Extravagances.

Further Account of Erasmus.

We find *Erasmus** was in *England* in the Beginning of the Year 1518, and in May, 1519, at *Antwerp*; and that, in one of his Letters to a young Nobleman at *Brabant*,

* We apprehend, now we are speaking of *Erasmus*, it will not be amiss, for Brevity's Sake, here to annex what we propose further to say of him, in mentioning his learned Friends; which leads us first to take notice of another of the Rev. Dr. *Knight's* Misrepresentations of the Cardinal, given in these Words: Leaving then these Foreigners, I proceed to speak of an English Friend and Patron of *Erasmus's*, viz. *John Yonge*, L.L.D.

Dean of *York*, and Master of the Rolls. This Person was a Publick Minister, and had been employed in several Embassies to foreign Courts with good Success; though, it seems, he was no Favourite of Cardinal *Wolfey's*, and therefore charged by him with ill Management, in his Negotiations in the Court of *France*, where he was sent on a monitory Message to King *Lewis*, requiring him to desist from the War

Brabant, he tells him, “ He began now to repent, “ that he had ever denied the earnest Sollicitations “ of Cardinal *Wolsey*, and his Patron the Lord *Mont-joy*, who would have had him entered himself a “ Courtier, and acknowledges he little thought our “ Court would ever have arrived to so great Repu- “ tation for its being the Seat of Learning; but “ adds, it was now too late for him, Age and In- “ firmities having made him incapable of any such “ Happiness.”

He also wrote two most elegant Epistles to Car- dinal *Wolsey* and the Lord *Montjoy*, upon the same Subject, wherein he particularly acknowledges the Fa- vours they had severally conferred on him.

Thomas Hanibal, one of the King’s Ambassadors at *Rome*, in a Letter dated the 13th of *December*, 1522, informs Cardinal *Wolsey*, “ That the Pope “ had sent for *Erasmus* under a fair Colour by his “ Brief, and if he come not, I think the Pope will “ not be content.” However *Erasmus* declined going, and as some Authors say, his Reason for it was, that he well knew some of his Writings would bear a double Interpretation, and therefore it might possibly bring him into Trouble. Upon this *Erasmus*, more close than before, kept up his friendly Cor- ref-

‘ War against the Pope; the
‘ Cardinal giving no better Cha-
‘ racter of his Management than
‘ this, *Never Man had worse Chear*
‘ *than he in France, and that he*
‘ *had done nothing touching the Mat-*
‘ *ter wherewith he was charged.*
‘ This was another of *Erasmus*’s
‘ Friends under the Frowns of
‘ the Cardinal, though he had
‘ from others a very good Cha-
‘ racter, as an able Man, and a
‘ great Encourager of learned
‘ Men; an Instance of this we

‘ have, besides his Generosity
‘ to *Erasmus*, in the Case of the
‘ learned *Grocyn*.’ See *Life of*
Erasmus, p. 174.

This Account the Doctor pre- tends to have, by his Note in the Margin, from Dr. *Fiddes*’s *Life of the Cardinal*, p. 70, who says, ‘ The Almoner (*Wolsey*) ‘ proceeds to observe (in a Let- ‘ ter to Dr. *Fox*, Bishop of *Win-*
‘ *chester*) the ill Success which ‘ the Master of the Rolls, Dr. ‘ *John Yonge*, had found in his
‘ Nego-

respondence with his Patrons in *England*, to whom, in several Epistles, he often recounts the Kindnesses he had received from them ; many of whom were in the Cardinal's Service.

But notwithstanding *Erasmus* declined going to *Rome*, yet such was his Opinion of the great Learning of Pope *Leo*, that he inscribed his Work of the *New Testament* to him. This Work was so ill received by

‘ Negotiations in the Court of
 ‘ *France*, (*Herb.* p. 18, 19)
 ‘ where he was sent on a mo-
 ‘ nitory Embassage to *Lewis*, re-
 ‘ quiring him to desist from the
 ‘ War against the Pope. He
 ‘ writes, (that is, Dr. *Yonge*)
 ‘ *Never Man had worse Chear*
 ‘ *than he in France, and that*
 ‘ *he had done nothing touching the*
 ‘ *Matter wherewith he was*
 ‘ *charged.*’ So that, according
 to *Fiddes*, Dr. *Yonge* wrote in
 that Manner to *Wolsey*, and not
 that *Wolsey* had given *Yonge* that
 Character to *Fox*: Nay, *Fiddes*
 corrects himself, in his *Collection*,
 (affixed to his *Life of Wolsey*, p. 7.)
 by giving us the Cardinal's own
 Words, ‘ The Master of the
 ‘ Rolls is coming to *Dover*:
 ‘ We look for him daily. He
 ‘ hath written hither, *That ne-*
 ‘ *ver Man had worse Chear than*
 ‘ *he in France.* Nothing has been
 ‘ done further than I wrote on
 ‘ to you in my last Letters, as
 ‘ touching his Charge.’

And further, in support of
 what we have said, it so falls out,
 Dr. *Yonge* was so far from being
 at Variance with Cardinal *Wol-*
sey, that, after the Doctor return-
 ed from his Ambassy, he was,
 by *Wolsey's* Recommendation, in
 the Year 1513, preferred to the
 Rectory of *Therfield*, in the Arch-
 deaconry of *Huntingdon*; who
 died in the Year 1516, and by
 his Will bequeathed to the Car-
 dinal a weighty Silver Cup, as a
 grateful *Memento* of the many
 Favours he had received from
 him. Whether therefore to place
 Dr. *Knight's* Charge against *Wol-*
sey to *Design*, or *Inaccuracy*, we
 leave to the Publick.

Dr. *Yonge* was buried in the
 Chapel of the Rolls in *Chancery-*
Lane, where a Monument is
 erected to his Memory, against
 the North Wall, with his Ef-
 figies in a scarlet Robe, his
 Head covered with a four-corner-
 ed Cap, and beneath it this
 Epitaph.

DOMINUS FIRMAMENTUM MEUM
 JO. YONG LEGUM DOCTORI SACRORUM
 SCRINIORUM, ET HUIUS DOMUS
 CUSTODI; DECANO OLIM EBOR.
 VITÆ DEFUNCTO XXV APRILIS,
 SUI FIDELES EXECUTORES
 HOC POSUERUNT. M.D.XVI.

by some of the Divines of that Age, that it was remarked it had raised him more Enemies than any Thing he had written.

It is also evident, from many Passages in *Erasmus's* Works, that he had so great Esteem for King *Henry* the VIIIth, that he vindicates his Title to the Kingdom of *France* against his Adversary *Breda*, who was angry that *Erasmus* so much as mentioned it

The Doctor was the Son of *Thomas Yonge*, Esq; one of the Justices of the Court of *Common Pleas*, in the Reign of *Edward* the IVth. And from the Judge's eldest Son the present Right Hon. Sir *William Yonge*, Bart. &c. is descended. — See *English Baronett*. Vol. III. p. 335, &c.

Other Friends to *Erasmus*, Cardinal *Pole*, to whom he wrote several Epistles.

Stephen Gardiner, whom he commends for his uncommon Share in Literature, as well as Capacity to serve his Country in the political Way.

Bishop *Longland*, to whom he dedicated one of his Theological Pieces, looking on him as a Prelate of great Ability, and especially in that Science.

Bishop *Tunstal* he accounted a very learned Man, whom he often mentions as one he highly valued, and from whom he had received many Favours.

Bishop *Stokeslie* he also mentions as a Prelate of great Learning, and one who adorned the *English* Court.

Grocyn he celebrates for his Indefatigableness in the Pursuit of Knowledge.

Richard Bere, Abbot of *Glas-*

enbury, he frequently corresponded with.

Erasmus reckons, among the Worthies of our Nation, *John Clark*, bred at *Oxford*, who had travelled Abroad, and, upon his Return to *England*, was made Secretary to the Duke of *Norfolk*; who, as well as the rest of the Courtiers, he highly valued, being a Man of Letters.

Sylvester Giglis, Bishop of *Worcester*, was one of his Patrons, and, as he resided at *Rome* as the *English* Ambassador, for a long Time, *Erasmus* tells him, in one of his Epistles, ' That he ' wondered not he had so much ' Favour from *Henry* the VIIth, ' *Henry* the VIIIth, and *Leo* the ' Xth, considering the many ' good Qualities in him, which ' must always recommend a Man ' to the Service of his Prince: ' And commends him particularly for his publick Spirit, as well as singular Humanity.

Leonard Cox, D. D. bred at *Oxford*, he much esteemed for his Learning, with whom he corresponded both at Home and Abroad.

Thomas Bedel, Secretary to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was one that he remarkably favoured; as was Dr.

it in his Dedication to that Prince, prefixed before his Paraphrase on *St. Luke*. He spoke of him often too, as a Prince of great Abilities of Mind, and every Way fitted for his high Station; and particularly expressed his Resentment against the famous *Martin Luther*, and those who would insinuate, that the King did not pen the Book he published against the *Reformer*, declaring, “ That he had known the King from a
“ Child,

Dr. *Wills*, one of the domestick Chaplains to the Archbishop.

Henry, Lord *Stafford*, only Son of the unfortunate Duke of *Buckingham*, who was a Nobleman of great Piety, Virtue, and Learning, and was esteemed a finished Scholar, early corresponded with *Erasmus*, and wrote several Pieces both in Prose and Verse.

Henry the VIIIth, in the Year 1528, wrote *Erasmus* a most affectionate Letter, inviting him over to *England*; assuring him, ‘ That he had many Years been
‘ an Admirer of his great Abilities, and was determined to
‘ promote true Religion in his
‘ Kingdom, in order to bring it
‘ back to its primitive Standard;
‘ that he was much concerned,
‘ lest, being taken out of the
‘ Way, he should want that Assistance he did expect, and was
‘ sure he was ready to afford him,
‘ in this his laudable Design.’

It appears plain, that *Erasmus* did not return any Answer to this gracious Letter; for, in an Epistle to Sir *Thomas More*, we find this Passage, ‘ That
‘ amidst the perplexing Circumstances, which he was then in,
‘ his Majesty’s Invitation gave
‘ him great Satisfaction; but,

‘ alas! Things were so altered
‘ with him, that it would become him more to find out a
‘ Place for his Burial, where he
‘ might be at Rest, since he despaired of it whilst living.’ And desires Sir *Thomas* to make his Apology to the King, for not answering his Epistle; saying,
‘ He would not venture upon
‘ such a Task, unless his Mind
‘ was quite free, and he could
‘ do it handsomely, becoming
‘ the Dignity of the Prince he
‘ wrote to.’

In 1537 his Patron, Archbishop *Warham*, died, upon which he expressed much Grief; and, when he speaks of his Death, and the Advancement of Dr. *Lee* to the See of *York*, whom he esteemed one of his greatest Enemies, he says, ‘ Both Pieces
‘ of News were extreamly
‘ mortifying to him.’ The Reason of *Erasmus*’s Anger against *Lee* was this: The Doctor had not only made himself free in examining some of his Pieces, but exposed them to the World; and, according to Dr. *Knight*, he so teased *Erasmus*, that he wrote to Bishop *Fox*, ‘ to restrain him
‘ by his Authority from giving
‘ him any further Trouble;’ and, his Patience being almost
worn

“ Child, and how susceptible he was of all Branches
 “ of Learning, even the abstruse Parts of the Mathe-
 “ matics: That, after he came to be King, he em-
 “ ployed his leisure Hours in the improving him-
 “ self in good Literature: That the Alterations and
 “ Interlineations in the King’s Letters were wrote
 “ with his own Hand: That the *Germans* indeed
 “ looked upon him (*Erasmus*) as the Author of the
 “ King’s

worn out, says, ‘ I wish he was
 ‘ not an *Englishman*, since he is
 ‘ a very Scandal to his Coun-
 ‘ try.’ Nay, the Rev. Doctor
 gives his Hero up: ‘ For I can-
 ‘ not (says he, p. 219) but re-
 ‘ mark, that, if ever *Erasmus* lost
 ‘ his Temper, it was in this be-
 ‘ tween him and *Lee*; and,
 ‘ tho’ he values himself at other
 ‘ times for his Patience, yet we
 ‘ find that here he quite lost it.’
 Again, ‘ *Erasmus* was so exaspe-
 ‘ rated at the Usage he met with
 ‘ from this Man, that he exag-
 ‘ gerates every Circumstance of
 ‘ it, and treats him with all the
 ‘ Contempt imaginable, and as
 ‘ he thought he deserved.’ But
 the Doctor tells us, in another
 Place, ‘ That *Erasmus* was an
 ‘ Under-match for Dr. *Lee*:’
 Yet he expresses some Surprise
 at *Erasmus*’s being so uneasy at
 what Dr. *Lee* had wrote; ‘ for
 ‘ that, upon examining of them,
 ‘ they were most of them wretch-
 ‘ ed Criticisms, pretending to
 ‘ point out 300 Places, wherein
 ‘ *Erasmus* was mistaken in his
 ‘ *New Testament*, not deserving
 ‘ an Answer from so learned a
 ‘ Writer.’ Notwithstanding this
 the Doctor (but two Pages be-

fore, viz. p. 287) had given *Lee*
 this Character; ‘ He was a great
 ‘ Divine, and very well seen
 ‘ in all kind of Learning; fa-
 ‘ mous as well for his Wisdom,
 ‘ as Virtue and Holiness of Life;
 ‘ a continual Preacher of the Gos-
 ‘ pel; a Man very liberal to the
 ‘ Poor, and exceedingly beloved
 ‘ by all Sorts of Men, who great-
 ‘ ly missed and bemoaned the
 ‘ Want of him when dead.’

In the Year 1533 *Erasmus* was
 at *Friburgh*; and about this Time,
 on publishing his *Exposition of the*
22d Psalm, he dedicated it to an
English Nobleman.

Dr. *Knight* relates, that *Eras-*
mus had a great Value for Queen
Catherine; that he dedicated his
 Book of *Christian Matrimony* to
 her; and that, in one of his E-
 pistles, he commends her Daugh-
 ter, the Princess *Mary*, for her
Latin Epistles, as writ in a good
 Stile; as he did the Queen, not
 only for being one of the most
 pious, but also as one of the most
 learned Women of the Age: ‘ And
 ‘ (says the Doctor) one of the
 ‘ many good Reasons, why *E-*
 ‘ *rasmus* thought Cardinal *Wol-*
 ‘ *sey* deserved the Character he
 ‘ had left of him, in some of his
 ‘ later

“ King’s Book against *Luther*, which might turn
 “ more to his Account, if the *English* would be of
 “ the same Opinion.” Likewise, to support what he
 alledges, he speaks of many Letters he received from
 his Majesty and Lord *Montjoy*, who would bear his
 Testimony of the same, one of which, we have intro-
 duced, Vol. I. fol. 372, 380.

Erasmus, during the Time he resided at *Basil*, re-
 commended *Hans Holbein*, the famous Painter, to
 the *English* Court, who, being introduced by the Car-
 dinal, his Majesty was so well pleased with his Perfor-
 mance, that he took him into his Service; and hence
 he was called *Henry* the VIIIth’s Painter. He also
 met with so great Encouragement from the whole
 Court, that he was fully employed, and his Paintings
 in

‘ later Epistles, we may presume,
 ‘ was using this Princess so bar-
 ‘ barously.’ But does not tell
 us in what Respect, and only
 gives us part of a Speech she
 made to *Wolsey*.

As *Erasmus* was now pretty
 well advanced in Years, his
 Friend *Sweating* wrote him a
 pressing Letter, to come and set-
 tle in *Holland*, his own Country,
 and spend the Remainder of his
 Days in a religious House. How-
 ever, his Inclination did not lead
 that Way, being more for a free
 Life, having thereby a better
 Opportunity of conversing with
 his chief Delights, learned Men
 and Books, which under Confine-
 ment he could not so generally
 do: Therefore, after he left *Eng-
 land*, he first resided at *Basil*, and
 then proceeded to *Friburg*.

Whilst he was at *Basil*, he was
 chosen Rector of the Universi-
 ty, where he took great Pains

to reform every Thing he thought
 amiss among the Students: ‘ But
 ‘ met with such Returns (says
 ‘ Dr. *Knight*) as generally fall
 ‘ to the Share of *Reformers*, *Ha-
 ‘ tred* and *Opposition*:’ Yet, when
 they fell to *Wolsey*’s Lot, for at-
 tempting the like Work, the
good-natured Doctor reckoned he
 deserved such Treatment.

And further tells us, ‘ That some
 ‘ time before *Erasmus*’s Death, Sir
 ‘ *Thomas More* and he had a sort
 ‘ of a Dispute concerning some
 ‘ Notions in Religion; in the
 ‘ Course of which Sir *Thomas* told
 ‘ him, “ He was afraid he would
 “ incur the Displeasure of his
 “ Superiors, Cardinal *Wolsey* and
 “ others; and therefore begs him
 “ to be more wary for the fu-
 “ ture, lest he should prejudice
 “ himself, and incur the Odium
 “ of *Heresy*.”

But, having lived to see his
 Friend, Cardinal *Wolsey*, die in
 Dis-

in general were so highly approved of, that they were carefully preserved, many of which are still to be met with in several of the Royal Palaces, as well as in the Houses of our Nobility and Gentry.

He kept a very close Correspondence with Bishop Fox, whilst he was carrying on the Building of *Corpus Christi* College in *Oxford*, for which he celebrates his Piety and Bounty in a Letter to Dr. *Claremond*, the first President thereof.

Erasmus was not made uneasy Abroad only, in Relation to some of his Works; for we find he complains in one of his Letters, "That there was a certain College in the University of *Cambridge*, where his Edition of the *New Testament* was not suffered to come within its Walls:" And this he ad-

M 2

ressed

Disgrace, Sir *Thomas More* and Bishop *Fisher* beheaded, the Beginning of the Year 1536, he perceived his Life was drawing to a Close, which made him leave *Friburg*, where he had been some Time, and return to his old Companion, *Frobin*, the Printer, at *Basil*; and, not long after his Arrival, he was seized with a severe Fit of the Gout, attended with Convulsions, which soon brought him into a low Condition: Then, taking notice that his most intimate Familiars were dead, says, *I desire not, if it please the Lord, to live any longer*: So that, it seems, Life was now become quite indifferent to him.

In *June* following his other Distempers were accompanied with a violent Flux, which held above a Month, the very Distemper his old Friend, Cardinal *Wolsey*, died of. His Senses and Speech remained

to the last, and, breathing out his Soul in several pious Ejaculations, he departed this Life the 12th of *July*, 1536, having lived 70 Years, 8 Months, and 15 Days. — Thus finished the Course of this truly great and learned Man, whose Works will make his Name immortal. He was interred in the Cathedral Church at *Basil*, attended both by the Members of the University and the Citizens, in a Chapel sacred to the Virgin *Mary*, under a Monument of Porcean Marble; and, near adjoining to the Monument is a Bust of the God *TERMINUS*, with these Words,

DES. ERASMUM ROTTERODAMUM, AMICI, SUB HOC SAXO CONDEBANT, QUARTO IDUS JULIAS,

M.D.XXXVI.

ressed to the famous Dr. *Bullock*, * of *Queen's*, for whom he had a great Value.

In this Year a great Dispute arose between the *Benedictines* and *Cisterians*, about some Philosophical Questions ventilated in their Schools, which from Arguments ended in Blows, and the latter, being forely beaten, were glad to take Shelter within the Walls of their College. However, the *Benedictines* did not remain long in Possession of their Victory, before they were prosecuted in the Vice-chancellor's Court, and fined; Treatment which so provoked them, that, by the Persuasion of Alderman *Haines*, some time before Mayor, whose House some Scholars had fired, they resolved to kill the Proctors. Accordingly they met at *Haines's* House in the City, and, when the Proctors were going their Rounds in the Night, they issued out and fell upon them; but were defeated in their Design, thro' the stout Defence the Proctors made; and the Citizens, hearing the Swords clash, got out of their Beds, run to their Assistance, dispersed the Rioters, and then conducted the Proctors to a Place of Safety.

The next Morning three of them were apprehended with the Alderman, and imprisoned, as well for this as another Offence of the like Nature. The Alderman, according to the Sentence passed against him, was banished the City, but, upon expressing hearty Sorrow and Repentance, he was permitted to return. Notwithstanding, he grew into Contempt daily with his

* This great Divine made and delivered the elegant Oration, we have exhibited in Vol. III. fol. 124. He was one of *Erasmus's* familiar Friends. In 1507 he was admitted a Fellow of *Queen's-College, Cambridge*, Dr. *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, being then President. In 1520 he com-

menced Doctor in Divinity, and was chosen Vice chancellor in 1524-5. His Abilities were so superlative, that he was singled out on many Occasions for the publick Service; and, we think, his Oration shews him to have been a Gentleman of very distinguished Parts.

his Neighbours, which caused him to leave *Oxford*, and soon after he died very poor.

After this Combustion a great Disturbance arose in *Magdalen* College, about the Election of their President, which being made known to the Cardinal, he so far interposed his good Offices, that he soon compromised their Differences, and appointed one to preside over them, who was so acceptable to the whole Body, that they sent *Wolsey* a Letter full of Acknowledgments for the Favours he had done them, and, promising to bury in Oblivion past Grievances, concluded thus. “ * We therefore lay aside our hostile Designs; we curse the War! “ we condemn Arms! Outrages have so grieved “ us, that we now would prefer the most bitter Punishment, sooner than to fall again into such a Pit. “ However, such is the Weakness of Men, that “ sometimes they will plunge into manifest Dangers: “ The Ship-wrecked Sailor, having refitted his Ship, “ returns to Sea again; and, tho’ overcome, often provokes his victorious Enemy to Battle. But your “ most circumspect Prudence has ordained such a “ Man to preside over us, that, from his known “ Wisdom and Moderation, we hope for the future, “ as our hurried Minds are still full of the Thoughts “ of this Madness, which make us tremble, “ hereafter all Motives of disagreeing will be removed and brought to nothing. For, not to sum “ up all the Qualities of his Mind and Body, “ which we have experienced in this short Time he “ has been with us, he neglects nothing that may “ conduce to the establishing, confirming, and rendering perpetual, this Unity and Peace among us, “ which was lately begun under your auspicious Influence. He treats all equally with wonderful Politeness and Humanity, and studies to attach them “ to

*The Cardinal's
Care of Mag-
dalen College.*

* See *Concil. Mag. Britan. & Hib. T. 3, f. 655.*

“ to himself, for no other Reason, as plainly ap-
 “ pears, than that, when we are firmly wedded to
 “ him, he may be linked to all, as the Head to
 “ the Members in one and the same Body, by an
 “ indissoluble Tie. Let your infinite Goodness con-
 “ tinue to procure for us such Men ; let it continue,
 “ by doing Good, to outdo itself ; and let it continue
 “ incredibly to deserve the Applauses of *Virtue* and
 “ *Learning*, as if there never had been any before
 “ now, but had received their Beginning from you.
 “ God grant *your Majesty* a long and prosperous
 “ Life.”

Although the Fomenters of the Tumults, we have last mentioned, were treated by the University with the utmost Lenity, some turbulent Spirits, among the Citizens of *Oxford*, attempted again to disturb its Repose, on a Supposition that the Charter, procured by *Wolsey*, was become obsolete, which they did as before by first assaulting the Scholars in the publick Streets, wherein one was killed after a stout Resistance. Upon this and other Troubles that ensued, the University sent a special Messenger to lay before the *Cardinal*, their constant and generous Patron, the State of the Case. Upon this, the Charter we spoke of in our III^d Vol. p. 147, was ordered more strictly to be put in Execution, which had a good Effect, a brief Extract of which we have here introduced.*

The

* *Henry* the VIIIth, at the Solicitation of *Thomas Wolsey*, Arch-bishop of *York*, has granted, &c. to the Chancellor and Scholars of the University of *Oxford*, &c.

THAT the Chancellor, Commissary, and his Deputy be

Maintainers and Justices of the Peace within the said City, Suburbs, and the four next Hundreds.—That they be Justices of the Peace, by Privilege, in the Counties of *Oxford* and *Berkshire*.—That they have the same Power as any other Justices in the Kingdom of *England*, except

The University of Oxford at this Time wrote a most pompous Letter (now to be seen in *Concil. Mag. Brit. & Hib. T. 3, f. 709*) to Cardinal *Wolsey*, extolling his Merit

The University's Letter to Wolsey.

cept in *Mahemio*,* and *Felony*.

—That they may appoint and constitute Justices of the Peace for the King.—That they may appoint other Justices for all Manner of Crimes, Murders, Felonies, &c.—That they may hear and determine among themselves, &c.—That neither the Mayor of the Town, nor any Justice of *England*, shall intermeddle with any privileged Person, &c.—That in such Case a Superseas shall issue directed to the Mayor, Justice, Commissary, or any other Person whatsoever, &c.—That they have their own Goals to confine and punish, &c.—That one of the University Justices do constantly attend some Goal in the Town or Suburbs of *Oxon*.—That the Sheriffs of *Oxfordshire* and *Berkshire* do make Returns to the University Justice; and that they do execute and attend the Execution of his Warrants, &c. on the Forfeiture of 200 *l*.—That they have all Fines, Amercements, and Forfeitures whatsoever, &c. Whether by Briefs, Premunires, &c. incurred by Statutes hereafter to be made relating to Scholars and privileged Persons.—That they have Wastes, Deodands, and Treasures discovered, of Felons, Out-laws, Fugitives, Criminals, condemned, and to be

condemned, Felons *per se*, and Felons in Execution, within the City of *Oxford*, and Suburbs thereof, &c.—The Labour.—All that may belong to the King.—That the Chancellor, Scholars, Servants, &c. and all those who serve them, Officers, Farmers, Tenants, be unmolested and exonerated from all manner of Prizes, Chimney-money, Captions, Carriages, Horses, &c. and likewise from Bread-corn, &c. Cows, &c. and from all manner of Flesh, Fish, Fowl, &c.—That none of the Buyers of Prizes, or Captions, or Provisions for the King's Palace, or any other Minister, shall enter to buy within 20 Miles of the said University, without the Chancellor's Leave, &c.—For the Renewal of any Indictments before any other Justice by a Certificate from the Chancellor, &c. relating to the Privileges, &c.—That the Process and Execution on such Indictments are to be superseded on the Penalty of 40 *l*.—That the said Indictments are to be heard and determined before the Chancellor, &c.—That any Indictment, remaining in any Court by a *Certiorari*, is to be superseded and delivered at the Chancellor's Request, on the Penalty of 40 *l*.—That such Issues, Pro-

* Which signifies any Corporeal Hurt, whereby a Man loseth the Benefit of any Member, that might be of Use to him in Battle.

Merit and Magnificence, Part of which is as follows :

“ And this ONE THING, says the University to
 “ *Wolsey*, which we have at present undertaken to
 “ set

Profits, Fines, Amercements and Forfeitures whatsoever, be for the Use and Benefit of the University for ever.—That all Persons arrested and imprisoned, Complaint being made thereof, are to be heard, and the Cause to be determined by the Chancellor of the University.—That it is not lawful for the Mayor or any of the King's Justices, or Commissaries to commence Suit upon any Indictment, after the Chancellor or his Justices had taken Cognizance thereof, on the Penalty of 40*l.*—That they enjoy all the Liberties and Privileges heretofore, as well as at present granted to the University.—That the Chancellor do issue out his Mandate, or Precepts, for summoning of the Frank-pledge View.—That they make a common *Penfold*, or Park, for Distinctions, and to have all the Profits arising therefrom.—Any privileged Person arrested or imprisoned within the Kingdom of *England*, after Notice thereof being given to the Chancellor, shall be immediately discharged without Fees, on the Penalty of 10*l.*—That the Persons privileged may trade and exercise manual Arts within the City and Suburbs of *Oxford*, as Burgeses.—That the Persons privileged be free and exonerated from all manner of Contributions paid to the Mayor or others, for their Free-

doms.—That the Chancellor and his Society may form Corporations, make Laws and Statutes, obliging the Observance of them by Penalties, notwithstanding other Statutes to the contrary.—That they may receive their own stolen Goods and Chattels, though they should be claimed by the Sheriff, or any other Officer.—That the Chancellor, &c. be not carried out of the University upon any false Judgment, or be vexed or disturbed for the same.—On this Condition, to obey the Summons of the Procurators, according to the Statutes and Ordinances, on the Penalty of 20*l.* to be forfeited to the University, &c.—That the Chancellor and the Mayor jointly, and not separately, may assess for Fifteenths and Tenths, &c.—That the Chancellor, his Commissary, or Deputy, and not the Mayor, or any other Commissary, do tax the privileged Persons.—That the Chancellor by his Ministers do collect the Money so assessed, being deputed by Indenture delivered to them for that Purpose.—For any other Assessment, the Chancellor together with the President and Keeper of *Winchester* College, are to assess the Persons privileged, &c.—This Charter and Privileges grant fully to the said University to pardon all Crimes.—If this Charter should

“ set forth, is your Diligence and Care to deserve
 “ well of all Mankind. This eminent Virtue we never
 “ can sufficiently Reverence ; especially when, after
 “ having obtained so many great Honours, such as
 “ scarce any of your Predecessors ever had, you still
 “ continue your Administration so sollicitously, you
 “ so constantly study the Interest of the Common-
 “ wealth, that you never can cease to be advantage-
 “ ous to her in all Times : So that the Honours al-
 “ ready acquired, the Allurements of the greatest
 “ Riches, nor, lastly, the Ambition of any worldly
 “ Ease, can unbend your strenuous Mind, or ever seem
 “ to be able to slacken your Zeal, from executing,
 “ with the utmost Diligence and Happiness, what-
 “ ever tended or related to the Benefit of the Publick :
 “ And, being elate neither with Honours, Riches, or
 “ any other fading Pomp, but always employed in
 “ forwarding and discharging the most arduous Af-
 “ fairs, you have fought unperishable Glory from
 “ God alone, which is the chiefest Wisdom.

should seem less valid and insuffi-
 cient, that the Chancellor of *Eng-
 land* may render them stronger
 for their Benefit, without any
 Prosecution therefrom of the
 King, his Heirs, or Successors.—
 That these Letters, and all other
 Charters granted to the Univer-
 sity, in general Terms, be of the
 same Force and Virtue, as if
 more especially and particularly
 specified.—That these Letters be
 read and explained in the best
 and most favourable Manner for
 them.—That they may have
 and enjoy all these Privileges, &c.
 and all others heretofore granted
 to them for ever.—That they
 have and enjoy full Cognizance
 of all Causes, Matters, Com-
 plaints, and Pleas whatsoever,
 Pleas of Free Tenements only ex-
 Vol. IV.

The
 cepted, if one Part thereof be
 priviledged, though it should
 concern the King or his Heirs.—
 That they have and receive all
 the Amercements, Issues, For-
 feits, and Profits coming there
 from, for the Use and Benefit of
 the University.—That no Jus-
 tice, Judge, or any of the King's
 Officers, or of his Successors, with-
 in the Kingdom of *England*, shall
 intermeddle with the Disputes re-
 lating to the Persons priviledged.
 —And, if they should presume
 to interfere, that the same be su-
 perseded on the Chancellor's Cer-
 tificate.—After such Certi-
 ficate the Chancellor of the
 said University is not to answer to
 them.—That these Letters be
 delivered without any Fee. Wit-
 ness, the King, &c.

The obtaining of the Charter, we have been speaking of, was not the last Favour the Cardinal shewed to the Place where he was Educated ; for, in the Year 1528, there was a considerable Law-suit, as well as other Disputes, between the University and City, which were at last compromised thro' *Wolsey's* Interposition : So that, before his Disgrace and Death,* the Stu-

* As we here propose to close what we think proper to mention concerning the Cardinal's Care of the Rights and Privileges of the Universities, we shall add the following Extracts.

Soon after the Cardinal's Disgrace and Death the afore-said noble Charter was totally neglected, and lay dormant in the *Exchequer* ; and such was the King's Anger against his Minister, that he seemed, by several Acts, desirous of destroying the very Remembrance of his late Favourite's constant Application for the Encouragement of Learning ; for, upon the King's restoring, in the Year 1543, to that learned Body their Charters, which he had got into his Hands, he expressly required a Recognizance of one thousand Pounds from the Commissary, not to assume or claim any Privileges granted to them by that which was called

WOLSEY'S CHARTER :

And hereon Dr. *Ayliffe* observes,

• That the King intended to re-
• voke all Charters and Bulls
• granted by Popes, being anx-
• ious to extirpate the papal Pow-
• er ; but then he ratified all the
• Rights and Privileges from
• thence accruing by Virtue of
• his own Royal Authority, and
• called them the *Antient Rights*
• of the University.

From this Period the Face of

Learning in *Oxford* was greatly eclipsed for a Time, occasioned as well through the frequent Sicknes that had visited it, as the Fall of Cardinal *Wolsey*, who, as Dr. *Ayliffe* candidly owns, spared no Cost or Pains to advance good Letters to the Summit of Perfection.

But in the Year 1566 Q. *Elizabeth* did the University the Honour of a Visit, who was highly delighted with her Reception and Entertainment ; nor was her Majesty backward in assuring that zealous Society, how much she had their Interest at Heart, which she would be always ready to promote and encourage ; in Testimony whereof, soon after her Return to *London*, the glorious Charter, which *Wolsey* had procured, and her Sire had forbid the Use of, was transmitted to *Oxford*, and ordered to be duly observed. This Royal Visit was ascribed to the Earl of *Leicester*, their Chancellor, who took great Pains to reform the many Abuses that had crept into the University.

The Queen, to shew she had an equal Value for both Universities, was pleased to grant a Charter to *Cambridge*, containing the same Privileges that *Oxford* enjoyed, by that above-mentioned ; and, in the 13th Year of her Reign, an

Act

Students were again peaceably pursuing their Studies, agreeable to the Intentions of their several glorious Founders; and the Citizens, who had caused Disturbances in the University and City, were quietly returned to, and following their different Trades and Callings; which had so happy a Consequence, that, before the Expiration of the Year 1530, the Face of Affairs, both

Act of Parliament passed, in relation to the several Corporations in the two Universities, and the Confirmation of the Charters, Liberties, and Privileges granted to either of them, whereby it was enacted, ' That the Chancellor ' of the University of *Oxford*, and ' his Successors for ever, and the ' Masters and Scholars of the ' same for the Time being, should ' be incorporated by the Name ' of the Chancellor, Masters, ' and Scholars of the said University, and by none other ' Name or Names shall be called ' and named for evermore; and ' that they shall have a Common ' Seal to serve their necessary ' Causes, concerning the said ' Chancellor, Master, and Scholars, and their Successors.' And the same Privileges were likewise granted to the University of *Cambridge*; both Universities being thereby severally empowered to implead and be impleaded, sue and be sued, for all Manner of Causes, &c. And the Act particularly confirmed the above Letters Patent granted by *Henry the VIIIth*, thro' *Wolsey's* Procurement, to the Chancellor, &c. of *Oxford*, and likewise those granted by Queen *Elizabeth* to the University of *Cambridge*, on the same Foot with that of *Oxford*, as well as all other Let-

ters Patent, granted by any of the Progenitors or Predecessors of the Queen to either University, as if they were set down *verbatim* in the said Act. And since at different Times there has, if we may so term it, arose a *glorious Emulation* in our Princes, in regard to the supporting and encouraging the two Universities, which hath caused them to be in the flourishing Condition we now see them; and it is our hearty Desire, *That they may so continue, in Honour to our Nation, to the End of Time.*

The Buildings of *Oxford* in general, are said to exceed most in Christendom, and the Colleges are allowed to be the greatest with respect to the Largeness of their Endowments, and such is their Fame, that the following Epithets have been bestowed on them, *University* College is the oldest, *Pembroke* the youngest, *Christ Church* the greatest, *Lincoln* the least, *Magdalen* the neatest, *Wadham* the most uniform, *New* the strongest, and *Jesus* the poorest. *New* College is for the Southern, *Exeter* for the Western, *Queen's* for the Northern, *Brazen-Nose* for North-western Men; *St. John's* for Londoners, *Jesus* for Welshmen; and at the other Colleges Students from all Countries

both with regard to Learning and Industry, began to bear a very favourable Aspect.

On *Shrove-tuesday* there was solemn Jufts at *Greenwich*, between the King and others on the one Part, and the Marquis of *Exeter* on the other; at which, by the Mifchance of a Spear's fhivering, Sir *Francis Brian* loft one of his Eyes.

Church Zeal. On the 11th of *February*, four Merchants *Dr. Barnes* of the *Steel-yard* did Penance at *Paul's* and others *Cross*, for eating Meat on a *Friday*; the famous *Dr. Barnes* was condemned in the *do Penance.* Spiritual Court to do Penance, for certain Herefies alledged againft him, by bearing a Faggot at *Paul's Cross*, which he accordingly did in the Prefence of Cardinal and 11 Bifhops; and the Bifhop of *Rockefter* upon this Occafion preached a Sermon, which was chiefly levelled againft *Luther*, and the Doctrines he had lately advanced.

Affairs relating to the City of London. This Summer there had like to have been a great Difurbance in the City of *London* on the following Mifconduct: 1526. An Act passed in the 4th Year of this King, That no Stranger fhould bring in Wine or Wood in any Alien's Ship; on which the *Englifh* went to *Tholoufe*, and brought much Wood to *London*; but, notwithstanding the late Act, through the Means of fome Gentlemen about the King, divers Strangers ob-

refide indifferently; *Merton* is renowned for Schoolmen, *Corpus Chrifti* for Linguifts, *Chrift Church* for Poets, *All-Souls* for Orators, *New* for Civilians, *Brazen Nofe* for Difputants, *Queen's* for Metaphyficians, *Exeter* for a long Series of *Regius Profefors*, *Magdalen* formerly, and *St. John's* latterly for eminent Prelates. The Library equals any in *Europe*; and very much exceeds moft

in *Great-Britain*, ftanding as a *Diana* among the Nymphs.

It is faid of *Cambridge*, that the Building is the chief Credit of that County, and that fhe may be called a Town in a University, as *Oxford* is a University in a Town: But, as the Colleges in *Cambridge* are more separated from the Town than at *Oxford*, they have better Conveniencies for Walks and Gardens.

obtained Licences to bring in *Chestnut Wood* upon foreign Bottoms: So that not only *London*, but the Country too was full of their *Wood*, whereby the *Chestnut Wood* became of little or no Value. Upon this Sir *John Alleyn*, the Lord Mayor, sent for the Chief of the foreign Merchants, and represented to them, "That they had gained considerably by the City, and therefore willed them not to sell their *Wood* in the Country, but to the *Londoners*, who would pay them instantly; for that, by their Proceedings, they greatly hurt the *London Merchants*." — The Strangers, says *Grafton*, proudly answered, "They would seek every Place for their Advantage, and in a mocking Manner departed from the Mayor." The Lord Mayor upon this called a Common Council in *August*, and there Complaints were brought against the foreign Merchants; on which an Act of Common Council passed, whereby it was enacted, "That no Citizen should buy or sell in any Place, nor exchange or meddle with certain Strangers, called *Anthony Bonvice, Laurence Bonvice, Anthony Vivald, Anthony Caveler, Francis de Bard, Thomas Calmecant*, and several others therein named, upon Pain of losing the Freedom and Liberty of the City of *London*." And this had so good an Effect, "That the Strangers were so bridled, they came to a reasonable Conclusion."

This Year was likewise remarkable in *London*, according to our Historian, for that, on *Michaelmas-Eve*, *Thomas Hind*, who was elected Sheriff, was called to take upon him the Office; but he made Default. *

Upon

* This might be the Practice then, but it is now altered, for, upon their Election on *Midsummer-day*, they are obliged soon after to give Bond to serve the

Office, or shew Cause why they refuse it, that the Citizens, in case the Cause is allowed, may have Time before *Michaelmas* to elect others in their stead,

Upon this *Simon Rice, Mercer*, was chosen, who refused to serve the Office : Then was one *George Robinson* elected, who swore he was not qualified. This put the Citizens in the Common Hall into such a Fury, that they declared they would have a *Mercer* for Sheriff. On which *Nicholas Lambert, Esq;* one of the Aldermen and a *Grocer*, who had a Dispensation from serving the Office of Sheriff for a Year, seeing the Commotions that were likely to ensue, rose up and spoke to the Citizens, *Gentlemen, although my Time is not come to serve the Office of Sheriff; yet, for the Quiet of the City, if you will chuse me, I am ready to take upon me the Office;* which one and all they thankfully did, and by that Means the Peace of the City was preserved.*

The Cardinal reforms the Household of the King.

1526.

As some Abuses had crept into the King's Household, the Cardinal in the Month of *October*, came to the King's Court, which was held at *Eltham*, and took Orders for reforming and settling the State of his Majesty's Household ; when many Officers, and other Servants who were grown old in the Service, were discharged and allowed Pensions during their Lives ; 64 Yeomen of the Guard, who were likewise grown old, were also discharged and allowed Half-pay. He also settled the Households of the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Princess *Mary*, which he did in so regular a Manner, that he gave great Satisfaction to them all.

Hall

* A like Case happened a few Years since, the City of *London* being again somewhat put to it for a fit Person to serve the said Office, when a Name-sake of this worthy Alderman's was prevailed on to take that Trust upon him, which also contributed much towards preserving the

Peace of the City. This was done by that generous Gentleman, *Daniel Lambert, Esq;* who has since not only been elected *Alderman*, but filled the Chair, as *Lord Mayor*, in the Year 1741, with great Reputation ; and is now one of their worthy Representatives in Parliament.

Hall affirms, “ That the Cardinal on this Occasion made many Orders for the better Government of all Things committed to his Care, which were several Years after called the *Statutes of Eltham*; and, as some said, were more profitable than honourable.” — *Ill will speaks well of no Body.*

The King, by the Advice of his Council, issued a Proclamation against *unlawful Gaming*, and Commissions were sent into every County for the Execution of the same: So that in many Places *Tables, Dice, Cards, and Bowls* were burnt.

But *Stow* tells us, “ The young Men were so dissatisfied, that they took to Drinking, others to stealing Rabbits and Deer in Parks, and other Unthriftness.”

It being observed, that great Quantities of Silver were carried out of the Kingdom, his Majesty was pleased to raise the *Noble* from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 7*s.* 4*d.* and afterwards to 7*s.* 6*d.* whereby every Ounce of *Sterling* Silver was worth 3*s.* 9*d.* yet it did not answer what was proposed, on account that the Value of Money was still raised beyond Sea; wherefore the King granted to the Cardinal a discretionary Power to alter the Valuation thereof from time to time, as he should see Cause, which had a very good Effect; for his Eminency took proper Care to keep our Coin upon a Standard with other Nations, and prevented its being carried clandestinely Abroad.*

Is intrusted with the Care of the Coin.

The Cardinal also, as it is presumed, with the King's Leave, erected two Mints for Coining of Money, one at

* In *Edward* the III^d's Time, Persons attended at *Dover*, to receive the Passengers Money, to exchange it for foreign Specie, which prevented the current Coin's being carried out of the Kingdom: And it has been remarkable, that the *Turks, Persians, and Russians*, by keeping their Exchanges above the Valuation of their Money, acted a more politick Part than we have done upon several Occasions.

at *York*, and the other at *Durham*, which were very useful to that Part of the Country; and Dr. *Fiddes* exhibits at the End of the Introduction to his Work, Prints of certain Coins from *Wolsey's* different Presses, each of which bear the Cardinal's Hat, with the initial Letter of his Name.

And greatly encourages Trade and Navigation. The Cardinal, besides his great Passion for the encouraging of Learning, likewise took incredible Care, during the whole Course of his Administration, to promote the *Trade* and *Navigation* of the Kingdom, well knowing, that from thence Riches and Plenty naturally flow; and therefore he advised his Majesty to send out Ships, in order to make new Discoveries in the then unknown Parts of the World; which induced the King to send an Exhortation to *Robert Thorn*, who had been for some Years in the *Indies*, under his Majesty's Protection and Encouragement, to proceed in his Enterprize, which partly laid the Foundation for those great Discoveries that were afterwards made in the succeeding Reigns: So that we may justly reckon the Cardinal among the Worthies that were instrumental in beginning the *British* Empire in *America*, from which we, at this Day, reap so great Benefit.

The Cardinal opposed, upon his suppressing the lesser Monasteries.

Wolsey, in his Proceedings to suppress the lesser Monasteries, according to the Power he was intrusted with, both from the See of *Rome* and the King, was opposed. When the Monastery of *Bogham* in *Essex* was on the Point of being suppressed, certain People, who appeared in a strange and frightful Disguise, after the Canons were removed out of the Monastery, waited upon them and conducted them back in a pompous Manner, and, according to their Form, reinstated them in the Monastery, and withal promised to come at any Time to their Relief, upon the Signal of ringing the Abbey-bell, in case

case of Interruption from any one. However, they were soon disappointed in their Projects; for the King, receiving Intelligence of their refractory Behaviour, sent for the Canons, who were so strictly examined in Council, that they at last confessed who they were that had appeared and undertaken this Opposition; whereupon they were secured and punished, and this Monastery shared the same Fate with the others, whose Revenues were appropriated for the Purpose before-mentioned.

This Matter had not long been quieted, but a Female Impostor, called *The Holy Maid of Kent*,* started

The Affair relating to the Holy Maid of Kent.

up,

* *Elizabeth Barton*, Servant Maid, of *Aldington* in *Kent*, was visited with a tedious Sickness, which in time threw her into Convulsion Fits, and those into a Sort of Trance, in which she uttered many frantick Expressions, that would very often bear propheticall Constructions: Of these the Parish Priest made a Handle, and immediately carried an improved Report thereof to Archbishop *Warham*, who listened to it, and ordered the Parson to watch well what she might further say. With this Incouragement, *Master*, for that was the Priest's Name, returned to the Girl, and took no small Pains to instruct and persuade her to set up for a new Prophetess, and become a Nun in *St. Sepulchre's* in *Canterbury*, which she accordingly did. After she had acted her Part there awhile, she pretended to be very ill, and, at *Master's* Instigation, gave out, that the Virgin *Mary* had appeared and revealed to her, that she never should recover till she had

visited our Lady's Chapel in *Aldington* Parish: This was shrewdly calculated to answer Parson *Master's* Design of drawing Pilgrims to visit the same. Pursuant to her Request she was carried thither, where she soon seemingly recovered, which made a very great Noise abroad. At length her first Tutor, joined with one of his Concerts, worked her into such a dexterous Knack of deceiving, that she gained great Credit for her Sanctity, and became still more famous, inso-much that Archbishop *Warham*, Sir *Thomas More*, Bishop *Fisher*, as well as many of the lower Class of Ecclesiasticks, and Numbers of the Laity, were led away by her Agitations and prophetick Sayings: Nay, she had the Subtilty and Assurance to join with the Cry of the Times, inveighing bitterly not only against common Vices, but spared not the King and his Favourite, *Anna Bulleyn*, by foretelling his utter Destruction, in case he pursued his intended Separation and Di-

vorce,



up, pretending to be inspired from Heaven in a most extraordinary Manner ; but the whole, when searched into,

vorce, using these Words, That he should not after his Divorce be a King one Day, nor one Hour, and that he should die a villanous Death ; and further, that there was a Root with three Branches, and till they were plucked up it should never be merry in *England* : Interpreting the Root to be the Cardinal, and the three Branches the King and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, before *England* could do well. But at last his Majesty, frequently hearing of these repeated Extravagances and Insults, caused her to be apprehended, and she was soon brought with some of her Confederates to an Examination, Trial, Conviction and Execution. In the 25th of *Hen. VIII.* an Act of Attainder passed against her and her Accomplices ; and from the wording of the Act it is very probable some Censure would have gone against Archbishop *Warham*, had he been living at that Time, for the Act, after repeating *Elizabeth Barton's* Dealings with *Master*, sets forth, “ That for Ratification of her
“ false, feigned Revelations, *Edward Beckham*, by Conspira-
“ racy between him and the
“ said *Elizabeth Barton*, revealed the same to the most Reverend *William*, the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who, by
“ the false and untrue Surmises,
“ Tales and Lies of the said *Elizabeth*, was allured, brought
“ and induced to credit them,
“ and made no diligent Searches
“ for the Trial of the said Fals-

“ hoods and Confederacies, but
“ suffered and admitted the same
“ to the Blasphemy of Almighty God, and to the great Deceit of the Prince of the People
“ of this Realm.”

If any such Charge as this could have been brought against *Wolfey*, it is easy to guess what Use *Polydor Virgil*, *Rapin*, and his other Enemies would have made of it. *Rapin*, indeed, tells us, ‘ The Bishop of *Rocheſter*,
‘ *Thomas Abel*, and four more were
‘ judged guilty of Misprison of
‘ Treason, and to forfeit their
‘ Goods and Chattels to the
‘ King, and to be imprisoned
‘ during Pleasure ; but Bishop
‘ *Fisher* pleaded in Excuse, that
‘ all he did was to try whether
‘ her *Revelations* were true.
‘ And for his concealing what
‘ she had told him concerning
‘ the King, he thought it needless to say any thing, because
‘ she, as he said, had told it to
‘ the King herself.’ So he refused to make any Submission ; and yet it does not appear that the King proceeded against him upon this Act made on Purpose, as well to confirm the Condemnation of this notorious and uncommon Affair, as to radicate it out of the Minds of the Populace, into which it had sunk very deep, by means of the continual Sermons and Writings published by the Creature’s Votaries, in Vindication of her Distractions and wild Speeches ; tho’, one would have thought, the Woman’s *Dying Speech* might effectually

into, proved a religious Cheat, which ended in the publick Execution of the Principal and several of her Aiders

O 2

effectually have done that; which here take as *Hall* has handed it to us: ‘ Hither am I come to die, and I have not only been the Cause of mine own Death, which most justly I have deserved, but also I am the Cause of the Death of all these Persons, which at this Time here suffer; and yet, to say the Truth, I am not so much to be blamed, considering it was well known unto these learned Men, that I was a poor Wench without Learning; and therefore they might have easily perceived that the Things that were done by me, could not proceed in no such Sort, but their Capacities and Learning could right well judge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feigned. But because the Things I feigned were profitable unto them, therefore they much praised me, and bare me in Hand that it was the *Holy Ghost*, and not I, that did them; and then I, being puffed up with their Praises, fell into a certain Pride and foolish Phantasy with myself, and thought I might feign what I would, which Thing has brought me to this Case; and for the which now I cry God’s and the King’s Highness most heartily Mercy on me, and all them that here suffer with me.’

It is allowed Archbishop *Warham*, in particular, was imposed upon by the Woman, in the Course of her Vagaries, and was even prevailed upon to intercede with Cardinal *Wolsey* to admit her into his Presence; for there is now to be seen in the Exchequer Record-office, an Original Letter from *Warham* to *Wolsey* on that Head, which runs thus,

A Letter from WARHAM to WOLSEY, concerning the Holy Maid of Kent.

‘ Please it your Grace, so it is, that *Elizabeth Barton*, being a Religious Woman, professed in *St. Sepulchre’s* in *Canterbury*, which had all the *Visions* at our Lady of *Courte* at *Strete* * in the aforesaid Parish of *Aldington* in *Kent*, a very well-disposed and virtuous Woman, as I am informed by her Sisters, is very desirous to speak with your Grace personally: What she has to say, whether it be Good or Ill, I do not know; but she has desired of me to write to your Grace, to desire the same, as I do, that she may come to your Grace’s Presence; whom, when your Grace hath heard, you may order as ye shall please the same: For, I assure your Grace, she has made very important Suit to me, to be a Means to your Grace, that

‘ sh:

* This is the Place she pretended the Virgin *Mary* had, in a Vision, directed her to repair to, for the Recovery of her Health.

Aiders and Abettors, as more fully appears from our Notes extracted from *Hall, Stow, Rapin, &c.*

*An Account of
Dr. Pace's Sick-
ness, &c.*

Fox, one of the Cardinal's Enemies, exhibits a great Complaint against him, because, as he alledges, "*Dr. Richard Pace*,"* about this Time, fell under his "high

' she may speak with you. At
' *Canterbury*, the 1st Day of
' *October*,
' *At your Grace's Commandment*,
' WILL. CANTUAR.'

Whether the Woman was introduced to his Eminency does not appear, but it is agreed, that it was not in her Power to impose upon him, as she had done upon others; though she pretended to have the Gift of Prophecy, whence may be justly presumed, she did not meet with the least Countenance from *Wolsey*, which made her afterwards seek for the Revenge, that proved fatal to her and her Counsellors.

* As this Gentleman made a great Figure in the World, it induces us here to give some Account of him, and to answer what *Fox* has objected against *Wolsey*.

Richard Pace was, by *Dr. Thomas Langton*, Bishop of *Winchester*, trained up at School, with others, at his Lordship's Charge, who, perceiving him to profit in Musick more than could be expected for his Years, often expressed to his Attendants, that since he so easily became Master of that Science, his Genius might extend to greater Attainments. Some Time afterward

he sent him to *Padua*, in *Italy*, which was then the most flourishing University in the World, to improve in Literature, and was by him allowed a yearly Pension. There he commenced in several Degrees, and was much advanced in his Study by the famous and learned Bishop *Tunstal* and *William Latimer*, whom he called his Preceptors.

After his Return into *England*, he studied in *Queen's College, Oxon*, of which his Patron, *Thomas Langton*, was Provost, and soon after was received into the Service of *Dr. Christopher Baynbridge*, who succeeded his said Patron in that Provostship; from whence he proceeded with him to *Rome*, after he had been made Archbishop of *York*; and, upon his Master's Death, he returning into *England*, the King took him into Employ, wherein his Parts being soon discovered, and his Accomplishments made known, his Majesty in a short Time made him Secretary of State, and reposed great Confidence in him. He was early recommended by *Erasmus* for his Learning, who, among other Encomiums on him, says, 'He was *Utriusq; Literature Callentissimi*;' exceedingly well versed in Divine and Human Literature. Whilst he was abroad, in the Year 1514, he was ad-

“ high Displeasure, and, thro’ his ill Treatment, ran
 “ mad ; being then in the Service of his Country
 “ abroad,

admitted Prebendary of *Bugthorp*, in the Church of *York*, in the room of our *Thomas Wolsey*, and on the 20th of *May*, the same Year, he was made Archdeacon of *Dorset*, upon the Resignation of *Dr. Robert Langton*, some time of *Queen’s College, Oxford*. This Gentleman discharged the great Trusts reposed in him, in several Ambassies, with very great Honour to the *English Nation*.

In 1519 he became Deacon of *St. Paul’s Cathedral* in *London*, on the Death of *Dr. John Colet*, and about that Time Dean of *Exeter* : But whether he was ever Dean of *Salisbury* does not appear from the Registers of that Church ; though *Lord Herbert* says, in the Life and Reign of *Henry the VIIIth*, ‘ That, in the ‘ Year 1526, *Peter Vannes*, Arch- ‘ deacon of *Worcester*, was made ‘ Co-adjutor to *Richard Pace*, Dean ‘ of *Salisbury*, upon the Account ‘ of his unhappy Condition.’

After *Pace* was made Prebendary of *Coombe* and *Harnham*, in the Church of *Sarum*, he proved serviceable to the University of *Oxford*, the Members whereof would have had him adorned in their *Lyceum* with a Degree, but certain Customs relating thereto, and which could not easily be dispensed with, hindered it.

His general Character handed to us is, that he was a worthy Man, endowed with many excellent Qualities and Gifts of Nature ; courteous and pleasant ; was highly in the King’s Favour,

and readily heard in Matters of Weight ; was esteemed by all the Learned and Eloquent, and very expert in foreign Languages. So great a Master was he of the *Italian Tongue*, that he seemed not inferior to the famous *Peter Vannes*, the King’s Secretary, nor any of the most learned among the *Venetians* : So that his Fame for Literature and great Abilities spread itself thro’ all the Courts of *Europe*. Cardinal *Wolsey*, *Lynacre*, *Grocyn*, *Sir Thomas More*, and others, were his great Favourites in *England* ; and *Erasmus* wrote more Epistles to him than to any other Gentleman.

Dr. Fiddes says, ‘ The Cardinal had no sooner heard of ‘ the Calamity that had attend- ‘ ed *Pace*, who was then the ‘ King’s Minister at *Venice*, but he ‘ wrote in very strong Terms to ‘ the *Doge* of that Republick in ‘ Favour of him ; and that, when ‘ *Wolsey* received an Answer, ‘ *Pace* was honourably conduct- ‘ ed Home, where he partly re- ‘ covered his Senses, and ended ‘ his Days in his own Coun- ‘ try.’

And, in support of *Dr. Fiddes’s* Relation, which must invalidate *Fox’s*, there are at this Time, in the *Exchequer Record-office*, Letters from *Venice* to the Cardinal, relating to *Pace’s* unhappy Condition, wrote in such strong Terms, and so much in his Favour, that it is evident *Pace* was far advanced in the Cardinal’s Esteem ; and there is not the least Instance

“ abroad, and died in that unhappy Condition, some
 “ Time after he returned to *England*.”

The Cardinal's Enemies endeavour still more to defame him. Many Authors relate, that the Revenues of the Cardinal accruing from the Privileges of his *Visitorial Power*, of making *Abbots*, proving *Wills*, granting *Faculties*, *Licences*, and *Dispensations*; from his *Pensions*, *Preferments*, and other visible Advantages, were thought at this Time to be equal to the Revenues of the Crown; but, it seems, the above Article did not contribute so much to enrich him, as his Chaplain, *John Allen*;* who, *Hall* says, *was a Man of more Learning, than Virtue or good Conscience*: And whose Manner of Proceeding, according to *Fiddes*, “ was to ride, accompanied with a great Train, in a perpetual Progress from one religious House to another, and draw from them very large Sums for his Master's Service.”

How true this may be we cannot say, nothing of it appearing in the Letters from the Principals of the *religious Houses*, now to be seen in the *Exchequer* Record-office, which are filled with high *Encomiums* on the Cardinal's Merit, but make no mention of either Money or Gifts sent to him: But it was otherwise, when *Cromwell* (the Cardinal's Solicitor) came into the Ministry, who scarce received a Letter that did not advise him of some Gift or Present.

How-

stance to be found, that can be relied on, why he should do him any ill Office: And, if we reflect on the great Trust that *Wolsey* always reposed in *Pace*, from the first Beginning of his Knowledge of him, it seems inconsistent to think, that he would do him any Prejudice, for whom he had, upon many Occasions, expressed so much Regard; and more especially, as there is no

Proof of his having neglected the true Interest of his Country, or that he had in any manner betrayed the Confidence *Wolsey* had, in several important Affairs, placed in him.

* *Allen* was a Judge of the Cardinal's Court, and made Archbishop of *Dublin* in 1528; but was soon barbarously murdered by *James Fitzgerald*, the Earl of *Kildare's* eldest Son.

However, upon the whole, Lord *Herbert* and other Authors say, that what had been transacted gave so much Offence, that heavy Complaint was made thereof to the King, which had like to have proved fatal to the Cardinal; (but their Accounts were chiefly taken from *Wolsey's* inveterate Enemy, *Polydor Virgil*) for his Majesty was so well satisfied with the Charges brought against his Premier, that he reprimanded him in so sharp a Manner, the Cardinal thought it best to excuse himself with much Submission, and to promise to be more careful for the future; at the same Time, to palliate the King's Resentment, assuring him he had made his Will, and therein left him great Part of his Estate, which in some measure softened his Majesty's Anger: And, to shew that he was before really out of Temper with *Wolsey*, Lord *Herbert* introduces a Letter from the King to him.

“ As touching the Matter of *Wilton*, seeing
 “ it is in no other Strain than you write of,
 “ and you being also so suddenly (with the
 “ Falling Sickness of your Servants) afraid
 “ and troubled, I marvel not it overslipped you as it
 “ did; but it is no great Matter, standing the Case as
 “ it doth; for it is yet in my Hand, as I perceive
 “ by your Letter, and your Default was not so great,
 “ seeing the Election was but conditional. Where-
 “ fore, My Lord, seeing the Humbleness of your Sub-
 “ mission, though the Case was much more heinous,
 “ I can be content to remit it, being right glad, that,
 “ according to my Intent, my Monitions and Warn-
 “ ings have been benignly and lovingly accepted in
 “ your Behalf, promising you, that the very Affection
 “ I bear you caused me thus to do.

*The King's
 Letter to
 the Cardi-
 nal.*

“ As touching the Help of Religious Houses to the
 “ building of your College, I would it were more, so
 “ it were lawful; for my Intent is none but that it
 “ should appear to all the World, and the Occasion
 “ of all their Mumbling might be secluded and put
 “ away;

“ away ; for surely there is great Murmuring of it
 “ throughout the whole Realm. Both Good and Bad
 “ say, that all that is gotten is bestowed on the Col-
 “ lege, and that the College is the Cloak for cover-
 “ ing all Mischiefs ; this grieveth me to hear it spoken
 “ of him whom I do entirely love : Wherefore I
 “ thought I could do no less than thus friendly to
 “ admonish you.

“ One thing more I perceive by your Letter, which
 “ a little, methinks, touches Conscience, and that is,
 “ you have received Money from the Exempts, for
 “ having of their old Visitors. Surely this can hardly
 “ be with Conscience : For, were they good, why
 “ should you take Money ? and if they were ill, it
 “ were a sinful Act. Howbeit your Legacy herein
 “ might peradventure *apud Homines* be a Cloak, but
 “ not *apud Deum*. Wherefore you are thus monished
 “ by him who entirely loveth you, and I doubt not
 “ you will desist not only from this, if Conscience will
 “ not bear it, but from all other Things which should
 “ entangle the same ; and in so doing you will sing,
 “ *Te laudant Angeli atq; Archangeli, Te laudat omnis*
 “ *Spiritus* : And thus an End I make of this tho’
 “ rude yet loving Letter, desiring you as benevolently
 “ to take it as I mean it ; for I ensure you, and I
 “ pray you think it so, that there remaineth at this
 “ Hour no spark of Displeasure towards you in my
 “ Heart. And thus fare you well, and be you no
 “ more perplexed. Written with the Hand of your
 “ loving Sovereign and Friend,

“ *HENRY R.*

The Affair of *Wilton* was said to be this : The Cardinal had caused to be elected a Person to be Prioress of the Nunnery * there, with whom the King was not pleased.

From

* The Prioress of the Nunnery of *Wilton* was a Baroness of *Shaftsbury*, *Barking*, and *St. Mary's in Winchester*, all very famous in their Time. by her Title, as were also those

By what the Cardinal met with from the King it is not to be doubted, but he was fully convinced of his Master's Disposition, and saw what he might in Time expect, should any Affairs arise, in which he would not go the utmost Length to serve him.

After his Majesty had thus opened the Scene, by shewing some Dislike to Part of his Conduct, his Enemies began to publish *Libels* against him; and Skelton, the Poet Laureat, called the *Conceited Poet*, was one of the first who discovered his Spleen, by falling on *Wolsey's* Design of founding his College; some Part of which, for the Singularity of the Verse, we here present the Reader with.

And publish Libels against him.

*The Goods that he hath thus gaddered,
Wretchedly he hath scattered,
In Causes nothings expedient;
To make Windowes, Walles, and Dorees,
And to maintain Bauds and Whores,
A grett Part thereof is spent.*

*In these Parties it is veryfied,
That he hath a College edified,
Of Marvellous Foundation;
Of prevy Houses of Baudry,
He hath made a Stues openly,
Endued with large Exhibition.*

*Again,
With Worldly Pompe again incredible,
Before him rydeth two Prestes stronge;
And they bear two Crosses right longe,
Gapying in every Man's Face.
After them follow two Laye Men secular,
And each of them holding a Pillar
In their Honds, steade of a Mace.*

*Then followeth My Lorde on his Mule,
 Trapped with Gold under her Cule,
 In everey Poynts most curiously ;
 On each Syde a Poll-Axe is borne,
 Which in none wothers Use are Worne,
 Poretendynge some byd Mystery.
 Then bath he Servants five or six Score,
 Some behind and some before.**

Notwithstanding this quaint Poet's forced Wit, all that he mentions was no more than common in those Days, and were, according to the Custom of *Rome*, allowed to every *Legate a Latere*, as to the Pope himself.

The Pillars here mentioned were, according to the learned Mr. *Anstis's* Opinion, not unusual Ensigns in those Days. And we find our celebrated *Chaucer*, in the *Plowman's Tale*, where he sets forth the Duty of a Clergyman, uses the Word, *Ver. 2044.*

*And Usin none Yertbly Honours,
 Ne Croune, ne curious Covertours ;
 Ne Pillar, ne other proud Pall, &c.*

No one sure will charge the Cardinal's riding on a *Mule* as a Mark of his Haughtiness ; nor was it

* This extraordinary Poet's Christian Name was *John*, born, as we imagine, in *Norfolk*, and what makes it more probable is, that there was not only an antient Family of this Name in that County, but he had a Benefice at *Dis*, situate therein.

Erasmus, in his Letter to King *Henry*, stileth *Skelton*, *Britannicarum Literarum lumen & decus.*

It is said by another, *That he*

had Scholarship enough, and Wit too much : Ejus Sermo (saith Pitz) Salsus in Mordacem, Risus in Oprobrium, Focus in Amartitudinem : But by others he was accounted a meer Rimer. During his Restraint in the Sanctuary he met with much Respect from Abbot Islip, where he died on the 21st of June, 1529, and was buried in St. Margaret's Chapel with this Epitaph :

J. SKELTONUS, VATES PIERIUS, HIC SITUS EST.

it any Testimony of his Humility, but agreeable to the Usage of his Time, and in Correspondence with the antient Practice of *Clergymen*, who then esteemed it unbecoming them to ride upon a Horse, forasmuch as our *Saviour* rode on the *Fole of an Ass*.

But as to *Skelton*, he had no sooner published his odd Invective, than he fled to the *Sanctuary** at *Westminster* for Refuge; and there shut himself up, in order to secure himself from the Cardinal's Resentment, though it does not appear he ever thought it worth his while to enquire after him.

But, before he attacked the Cardinal, he must needs be shewing some of his ill-natured Wit in finding Fault with some Verses wrote by the famous *William Lilly*, † to which he returned *Skelton* this Answer.

P 2

With

* Now known by the Name of the *Ambury*.

† *William Lilly* was born at *Odiham* in *Hampshire*, and in his Youth travelled to the City of *Jerusalem*, where he satisfied his Curiosity in beholding those sacred Places, which our *Saviour* had visited when on Earth. In his Return home he made some Stay at *Rhodes*, in order to study the *Greek*; from whence he came to *Rome*, where he heard *John Sulpitius* and *Pomponius Sabinus*, great Masters of the *Latin* Tongue. Upon his Arrival in *England*, Dr. *John Colet* made him first Master of *St. Paul's* School, which Trust he commendably discharged for several Years, during which Time he wrote his *Grammar* and other *Latin* Works, which have been, almost ever since, the Oracles of the *Grammar* Schools in *England*.

Cardinal *Wolsey*, in particular, was highly pleased with his *Grammar*; and there is now in Being a *Latin* Preface to it, which his Eminence had wrote, directing it to be used in his School at *Ipswich*, a Translation of which, when we speak of that Foundation, we shall introduce.

Lilly upon his Death, which happened about the Year 1522, was buried in the same Grave with his Wife, in the Church-yard of *St. Paul's* Cathedral, to whose Memory, after the Fire of *London*, a Brass Plate was fixed with the following Inscription.

GULIELMUS LILIO,
PAULIÆSCHOLÆOLIMPRÆ-
CEPTORI PRIMARIO, ET AG-
NETÆ CONJUGI, IN SA-
CRATISSIMO HUIUS TEMPLI
COEMITERIO HINC A TER-
GO NUNC DESTRUGTO, CONSE-

PUL-

With Face so bold, and Teeth so sharp,
 With Viper's Venom, why dost carp?
 Why are my Verses by thee weigh'd
 In a false Scale? May truth be said;
 Whilst then, to get thee more Esteem,
 A learned Poet thou fain would'st seem,
 Thou'rt, O SKELTON! all Men know it,
 Neither learned, nor a *Poet*.

William Lilly also compiled the following Epitaph, on the famous *Dr. Colet's* Monument; a little Account of whom see in Vol. II. p. 305.

Inclyta JOANNES, LONDINI Gloria Gentis,
 Is tibi qui quondam, PAULE, Decanus erat;
 Qui toties magno resonabat Pectore Christum;
 Doctor & Interpres fidus Evangelii:
 Qui Mores Hominum multum Sermones disertæ
 Formarat, Vitæ sed Probitate magis:
 Quique Scholam struxit celebrem Cognomine JESU;
 Hac dormit tectus, Membra COLETUS Humo.
 Floruit sub HENRICO VII. & HENRICO VIII. Reg.
 Obiit Ann. Dom. M.D.XIX.
 Disce mori *Mundo*, vivere disce *Deo*.

In *English* thus:

John, the renowned Glory of the Londoners,
 And formerly, O Paul! thy Dean,
 Who so frequently preached Christ;
 A Doctor and faithful Interpreter of the Gospel;
 Who, by his Discourses, greatly chequed

PULTIS, GEORGIUS LILIUS
 HUIUS ECCLESIAE CANONICUS,
 PARENTUM MEMORIAE
 PIE CONSULENS, TABELLAM
 HANC, AB AMICES CONSERVATAM,
 HIC REPONENDAM CURAVIT.

In *English*.

To WILLIAM LILLY, here-

The tofore first Master of Paul's School,
 and AGNES his Wife, buried together
 in the back Part of the Holy Church-yard
 of this Cathedral, now ruined;
 GEORGE LILLY, Canon of the Church,
 out of a pious Regard for the Memory
 of Parents, had this Plate refixed,
 which was saved by the Care of Friends.



Founder of Saint
London,
and died in

D^rJOHN COLLET, Dean of S^t.Pauls.

Pauls School
1512.
the Year 1519.

Learn to die to the World,
And to live to God.

*To the Worshipful the
MASTER, WARDENS & ASSISTANTS,
of the
MERCERS COMPANY in LONDON,
This Plate is humbly Inscribed
by their most obed^t Serv^t Joseph Grove*

Parr sculp.

*The Immorality of Men,
But more by the Probity of his Life.*

He built a celebrated School by

The Name of JESUS.

The Remains of COLET rests in this Mould.

He flourished in the Reigns of Hen. VII. and Hen. VIII.

He died in the Year of our Lord M.D.XIX.

Learn to die to the World, and to live to God.

The MERCERS Company in grateful Remembrance, and in order to perpetuate the Memory of Dr. Colet, caused a Copy of his Monument to be carved, on which they assign their Reason as follows:

Between the Choir and the South Isle.

Lest the Monument of a most worthy

Divine should fall with *St. Paul's* Church,

The Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the

Mercers Company of *London*, ordered this Copy

thereof to be carved at their Expence,

In the Year 1656.

See his Epitaph before; but here the View of his Tomb.

It is very remarkable, that the Cathedral of *St. Paul's*, was afterwards burnt down, in the dreadful Fire of *London*, in the Year 1666.

However arduous the grand Affairs might be which the Cardinal had to attend, both in Church and State, they did not divert him from carrying on

a grateful Correspondence with his old Patron, Bishop *Fox*, by sending from time to time special Messengers with kind Epistles, and to enquire after his Welfare, also by readily paying Respect to that venerable Prelate's Recommendations; which friendly Actions were so acceptable to him, that he publickly acknowledged them on several Occasions, and there is now to be seen an

*The Cardinal
continues his
Correspondence
with Bp. Fox.*

ori-

original Letter, sent from the Bishop this very Year to the Cardinal, in the *Exchequer* Record-office, filled with the most affectionate Expressions, and thus addressed, *To the most Rev. Father in God, my special Friend, and good Lord, my Lord Cardinal of England.* And here we shall wind up the Year 1526.

Affairs of
Italy.
1527.

ON the 9th of *Jan.* the D. of *Bourbon* drew his Men from their Quarters of Refreshment, in order to enter upon Action, tho' he was in the same Perplexity in common with all the Emperor's Generals, who did not want Troops, but the Sinews of War to encourage his Men, which was very surprising, considering the Emperor begun now yearly to draw vast Sums of Money from the *West-Indies*. Soon after *Bourbon* took the Field, he formed to himself a bold Undertaking; to execute which he began his March *January* the 11th; but, before he could arrive at the Place proposed, he had a Number of Rivers to pass, several Towns of the Enemies in his Way, and Reason to apprehend the Confederates would be close at his Heels; yet these Difficulties did not discourage him from proceeding, after leaving the Care of the *Milanese* to *Anthony de Leyva*. As he marched on he rewarded his Soldiers with the Plunder of several small Towns, to keep them from mutinying for want of Pay, and promised better Booty by and by; yet he took care to conceal from them his real Intention, which was to take the City of *Rome*. However, as soon as they were got beyond *Florence*, they began to discover whither he was bending his March, which was so pleasing, that the Soldiers looked upon all their past Fatigues as nothing.

In the mean time the Pope, perceiving the Duke of *Bourbon* to continue his March with great Expedition, concluded a Truce with the Vice-roy of *Naples* for eight Months, and had engaged him to write

to

to the Duke to halt: But, if he sincerely performed his Undertaking, it had no Effect; for *Bourbon* continued his Rout, notwithstanding the concluding the Truce, till he came before *Viterbo*, which he soon made himself Master of.

On the 25th of *May* he encamped in the Meadows near *Rome*, and then sent a Trumpet to demand a Passage through that City, that he might proceed to the Kingdom of *Naples*; and his Demand being refused, the Night following was spent in consulting where to give the Assault, and in making scaling Ladders for six Men to mount a-breast. The Imperial Army, according to the best Computation, consisted of 30,000 fighting Men, composed of *Germans*, *Italians*, and *Spaniards*. The next Morning, by Break-of-day, the Army was drawn out to give the Assault, and so eager were the Soldiers, that they pressed for the Signal, which once given, they run on as if nothing had stood in their Way; nor were the Defendants less resolute on their Part; so that a bloody Combat ensued, and Heaps fell on both Sides. In the Heat of the Action the brave Duke, as he was leaning on a Ladder against the Wall, to encourage his Men, received a Shot from a Musquet, which wounded him in his Thigh, and laid him on the Ground; who, finding himself grow faint, ordered a *Gasconne* Captain to carry him to the Camp, and cover him with a Night-gown, for fear his People, being frightened at his Death, should quit the Assault; and he was no sooner got to the Camp but he expired, being but 38 Years of Age, without leaving any Issue.

The Duke of Bourbon's warlike Courage and Death.

The Death of the Duke did not close the Fury of the Assault, which was vigorously carried on, and the Suburbs entered, when the Pope with 17 Cardinals, and the *English*, *French*, and *Florentine* Ambassadors fled to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, *Renzo de Ceri* following them with 500 Men out of the Garrison.

rison. After a considerable Slaughter and much Pillaging the Soldiers refreshed themselves, but the Prince of *Orange*, on whom the Command devolved, beat to Arms, and, driving the Guards from the Bridges, broke into the City. In both of the At-

tacks 5000 of the Defendants were reported to have been killed, and the whole

Rome plundered. City plundered, without sparing Churches, Monasteries, or Churchmen, which lasted for seven Days. “ This was the Consequence, say the *Spanish* Writers, of *Clement* the VIIIth’s ambitious Practices, which happened without the Consent or Knowledge of the Emperor.”

Rome being thus reduced the Castle of *St. Angelo* was besieged, where the Pope held out some Days, before he would give Ear to any Agreement, expecting the Duke of *Urbino* would come to his Relief, which accordingly he did, and the *Imperialists* marched out as readily to give him Battle. A Letter writ from *Rome* at that Time says, “ The Duke of *Urbino* was utterly routed;” but *Peter Mescia* and other Authors say, “ That there was no Battle fought, but the Duke, having continued some Days within six or seven Miles of *Rome*, and finding no Disorder in the Imperial Army, as he had expected, marched away and retired into the *Milanese*, where he employed Part of his Forces in taking the best Precaution he could, to prevent *Concordia* from being surprized by another Part of the Emperor’s Forces.”

As soon as the Duke of *Urbino* was gone the *Imperialists* returned into the City, where they found the Citizens with 8000 Men in Arms, in order to assist the confederate Army in driving the Emperor’s Forces from *Rome*; but these were easily routed. The Pope then, seeing no hopes left, obtained an Interview with *Lanoy*, the Vice-roy of *Naples*, who was come into those Parts, and, after much Debate, they agreed, “ That

“ That the Pope should pay 400,000 Du-
 “ cats for the Ransom of those that were
 “ in the Castle,” which he delivered up im-
 mediately, and also put into the Hands of the *Impe-*
rialists, the two Fortresses of *Civita Vecchia*, and *Ostria*
 with its Ports, besides the Cities of *Placentia*, *Parma*,
 and *Reggio*. This done *Ferdinand de Alarcon* was left
 in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, to secure the Pope till a
 Messenger arrived from the Emperor.

*The Pope
 pays a
 Ransom.*

This News being brought to *Florence*
 the People mutinied, crying out, *Liberty!*
 and turned all the Family of the *Medicis* and their
 Adherents out of the City, declaring for the Empe-
 ror, who had received Advice of what had happened;
 and though the Success of his Forces could not but
 be pleasing to him, yet he outwardly shewed, accord-
 ing to his usual Way, much Concern for the Sacking of
Rome, the Imprisonment of the Pope, and the Death of
 the Duke of *Bourbon*.

*Mutiny at
 Florence.*

The Calamity that attended *Rome* was succeeded by
 the Plague, and the Churches were shut up throughout
Italy, the Contagion raging so vehemently, that, to com-
 plete the Miseries of the *Romans*, 500 of them were swept
 off in a Day; the Pope's Palace with the Library and all
 the Record were burnt, the Loss of which was irre-
 trievable.

Charles de Lanoy, Vice-roy of *Naples*,
 died also of the Plague at *Rome*, so that he
 did not long survive his Rival, the Duke of
Bourbon; and *Hugo de Moncada* succeeded him, which
 was no ways pleasing to the Pope, on account of the
 Differences that formerly had been between them.
 In Consideration of *Lanoy's* great Services, which
 the Emperor did not forget, he gave his Son a con-
 siderable Principality, which is enjoyed by one of
 that Family at this Time.

*Lanoy
 dies of the
 Plague.*

It was remarked, that before the War broke out,
 which no Man imagined could have threatened *Rome*,
 there appeared in that City a Man, named *John Baptist*,

not otherwise known to any Body, than that he was an *Italian*, whose Habit of Life was very penitential; for he wore only a loose Garment of Sackcloth next his Skin, went bare-footed, fed poorly, and lay on the Ground. This Man, for some Time, ran about the Streets of *Rome* Day and Night, calling upon the People to amend their Lives, *For the Wrath of God* (said he) *was coming upon that City*. This he repeated in all Places, which at last gave so much Offence, that he was cast into Prison; but to no Purpose; for, as soon as he got his Liberty, he continued in the same Tone, till the City was taken and plundered.

The King of *France* was greatly concerned at the taking of the Pope; but, when he heard of the Death of the Duke of *Bourbon*, it abated his Grief, whom the Parliament of *Paris*, on the 27th of *July*, declared guilty of High Treason, confiscated his Estate, and ordered his Arms to be erased out in all Places.

Leyva de-
feats Duke
Sforza's
Projects.

Whilst *Rome* was thus brought to Penance, *Anthony de Leyva* was not idle in the *Milanese*; for, understanding that Duke *Sforza*, with his own and some *Venetian* Troops, intended to possess himself of *Malignano*, which is but ten Miles from *Milan*, he marched out, with what Troops he could muster, for that Place; which the Duke perceiving, he quitted his Design. After this *Leyva*, having had Intelligence, that *James de Medicis* lay at *Casal*, twelve Miles from *Milan*, he marched with so much Secrecy, that he surprized him at Break-of-day, stormed the Place, and took or killed most of his Men, and then returned to *Milan*.

The News of the Pope's Captivity made the *French* more vigorous to support their Interest in *Italy* than before, and for that Purpose *Francis* made a new Treaty with the *Venetians*, wherein was stipulated, "That each of the contracting Parties should bring 10,000 Men into the Field, and raise 10,000 *Switzers* at their common Charge."

The French
and Veni-
tians enter
into a Tre-
aty against
the Empe-
ror.

The

The *Venetians* desired nothing more than to be supported by *France*, since they dreaded, that the Army which had sacked *Rome* would be employed against them; and very likely that would have been the Case, if *Moncada*, who commanded in *Naples* upon *Lanoy's* Death, had exerted all his Strength, since the *Venetians* were the only Enemies the Emperor had to fear in *Italy*. But, happily for them, the Imperial Troops was wholly intent upon the Plunder of *Rome*, without a Thought of any other Undertaking; besides, the Plague had carried off two Thirds of the Soldiers; and the Remainder leaving *Rome* had dispersed themselves in the Country. After which, having sacked two Towns, and extorted Money from *Spoletto*, the *Germans* parted from the *Spaniards*, and what remained returned to *Rome*. This Disorder in the Army, which ill obeyed the Prince of *Orange*, their General, caused them to neglect the improving their Victory for the Emperor's Advantage, and gave *Francis* Time to send Troops into those Parts.

This Prince gave the Command of the Army to Marshal *Lautrec*, who as soon as he arrived was declared General to the League; and the Marquis of *Saluzzo* at the Head of the *Italians*, according to the Directions he had received, immediately joined him, as did likewise the *Switzers* soon after.

The French send an Army into Italy.

During these different Transactions *Doria* (who had quitted the *Pope's* Service, entered into that of the *French*, and took upon himself the Command of their Gallies, to which he had joined eight of his own) found an Opportunity of reducing the City of *Genoa* under the *French* King's Obedience.

Genoa reduced under French Government.

The Marshal, as soon as he had assembled his whole Army, which consisted of 25,000 Men, proceeded to Action, and took *Alexandria* and *Pavia*. Upon this *Sforza* and the *Venetians* recovered their palled Spi-

rits, and, as the Emperor had but few Forces in the *Milanese*, they earnestly pressed *Lautrec* to besiege *Milan*; which he refused, having before received positive Orders to march towards *Naples*, and accordingly set out; however he proceeded with such Slowness and unnecessary Delays, that it was evident he had private Directions not to make too much haste: And, it must be acknowledged, this was the Time *Francis* expected the Emperor's final Answer to some Propositions that had been made to him for putting an End to the War. *Lautrec* in his March made a considerable Stay at *Parma* and *Placentia*, which had opened their Gates to him; and whilst he was there the Duke of *Ferrara* declared for *France*, upon two Considerations, 1. That *Lautrec* could easily have ravaged his Country in his March. 2. *Francis* offered to give to *Hercules*, the Duke's Son, *Reneé* of *France*, second Daughter of *Lewis XII.* in Marriage.

The Duke of *Mantua*, presently after, followed the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Example, but, as the Winter was now far advanced, *Lautrec* took up his Quarters, for that Season, in the *Bolognese*.

Affairs of The latter End of last Year the Empe-
Spain, &c. ror set out for *Granada*, and was a long

1527. Time on his Journey, by reason of the Badness of the Weather, and the Empress's being with Child: But at length he arrived at *Valladolid*, with his whole Court, on the 14th of *January*, though the Floods were so prodigious in the Roads from *Andalusia* to *Old Castile*, that the like had not been seen in *Spain* within the Memory of Man.

On *Tuesday*, the 21st Day of *May*, the Empress was delivered of a Son at *Valladolid*, afterwards famous by the Name of *Philip* the II^d, King of *Spain*. The Emperor, when the Infant was brought to him, said, *God make you a good Christian; I beg of God that he give you his Grace; may it please him to enlighten your Understanding, that you may know how to govern the Kingdoms*
you

you are to inherit: And then went on foot, though it rained, to *St. Paul's Church*, to give Thanks to the Almighty.

Against the 5th of *June*, when the Prince was to be baptized, there was a Gallery built, reaching, from the Stairs-foot of the House where the Empress lay, to the High Altar of *St. Paul's Church*, and most richly adorned with Flowers, Trees, Pictures, Plate, and several triumphal Arches, in which were Concerts of Musick. All the Nobility then at Court attended the Christening of the young Infant, as did also *Eleanor*, Queen of *France*; the Ceremony of which was performed by the Archbishop of *Toledo*, assisted by the Bishops of *Osma* and *Placentia*. After this was ended, one of the Kings at Arms proclaimed his Titles to the People in this Manner; *Hear! Hear! Hear!* Philip, *by the Grace of God, Prince of Castile, &c.* On the *Thursday* following there was a Sport used in *Spain* by the Gentry, representing a Skirmish with Lances instead of Spears, all richly accoutered, well mounted, and in bright Armour; and a Bull-feast, in which several of these Cattle were killed.

When the Empress was churched the publick Rejoycings were renewed; but soon after, *Valladolid* and the Country about growing sickly, the Court removed to *Placentia*, where we shall for the present leave them with only observing, that before the Emperor quitted *Valladolid*, he was pleased to return an Answer to the Proposal that had been made by King *Francis* to *Lanoy*, the late Vice-roy of *Naples*, when he attended him in *France*; in which he declared, "That
" he accepted of the Offers the *French* King had made
" to his Minister;" tho' couched in such Terms, as the *Spanish* Writers say, that shewed *Francis* rather gave than received Laws from *Charles*, and seemed much to endeavour at obviating all possible Cavils;
for,

for, as to most other Matters that were depending between them, he was willing to stand to the King of *England's* Determination; which, as *Rapin* insinuates, was the same Thing as to depart from his Demands: But the Point relating to the restoring the Duke of *Milan* he could not bear the Thoughts of. However, the *Spanish* Writers affirm, “That, if
 “that had been the only Obstacle to Peace, the
 “Emperor would have soon removed it, since he
 “had before fixed on a Way to come off with
 “Honour, by causing *Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, to be
 “declared innocent, in the Manner he had proposed
 “to the Pope.”

The Emperor's Answer would have been highly acceptable to *Francis*, had it come soon after his Conference with *Lanoy*; and it was thought a general Peace would have ensued. But the Face of Affairs in a short time very much altered; for the King of *France* had now fully gained our King to his Interest; and the Emperor's Forces having taken *Rome*, it was greatly feared, he would soon become Master of all *Italy*, if some Course was not taken to prevent it. Therefore *Francis*, instead of accepting what the Emperor offered, made the following Demands,

First, “That *Sforza* should be restored to the
 “Dutchy of *Milan*.”

Secondly, “That his Sons should be delivered before he recalled his Forces from *Italy*, which was
 “one of the Conditions the Emperor had insisted
 “upon.”

Thirdly, “That if the Emperor would comply with
 “his Demands he would deposit 300,000 Ducats in
 “the King of *England's* Hands, for the Security of
 “what was incumbent upon him to do.”

The Emperor disagreeing to these replied, “That,
 “if the King of *France* would perform what was
 “expected from him, he would on his Part make the
 “like

“ like Deposit into the same King’s Hands, as a
 “ Pledge, That the Hostages should be restored on
 “ the Conclusion of the Peace.”

This not being approved of, War was the only
 Resourse.

Cardinal *Wolsey*, through his whole Mi-
 nistry, was for preserving *Christendom* from
 the Insults and cruel Treatment of the
Turks and *Infidels*, of which the King of
Poland was so sensible, that he wrote him the
 following Letter, to acquaint him of the Condition
Rhodes, *Hungary*, &c. were in.

Affairs of
Poland.
 1527.

SIGISMOND to the Cardinal of YORK.*

“ Dear and Honoured Friend,

“ **W**HEN the magnificent *John Wallop*, Great
 “ Marshal of *Calais*, resided here, he signified
 “ to us your Most Reverend Lordship’s great Friend-
 “ ship for us, as likewise your great Care and Study
 “ of the good State of *Christianity*, and the Defence
 “ thereof against the *Infidels*, which we the more a-
 “ greeably heard, as we understand your Most Rev.
 “ Lordship’s Authority to be in the greatest Credit,
 “ as it deserves, with the renowned King our most
 “ dear Brother, and the whole Nation: Wherefore
 “ we return you no small Thanks, and congratulate
 “ with Ourselves and the afflicted *Christian* Interest,
 “ to which we may promise some Hopes of Safety.

“ That great Regard we have on our Part for the
 “ most Serene King our Brother and Cousin, as well
 “ as for your most Rev. Lordship, and also what the
 “ Situation and Condition of those Kingdoms are
 “ which now alone bear the Shock of all the Strength
 “ of the *Infidels*, though not able long so to do, the
 “ said Mr. *Wallop* will represent to you, and we en-
 “ treat your most Rev. Lordship to be present with

“ us,

* *Rym. Fœd.* Vol. XIV.

“ us, and the Kingdom of *Hungary*, in your Advice
 “ and Favour, that our most Serene Brother, toge-
 “ ther with the rest of the chief Princes, may be
 “ moved to succour us in our extreme Distress. Those
 “ who live *North East* of us afford us little Hopes,
 “ for they themselves vex and afflict the *Christian* Re-
 “ ligion with their Ignominy abundantly more than
 “ any *Infidels*, not knowing what Calamity may fall
 “ on them equally with several others, on account
 “ of our shattered State.

“ We heartily commend Ourselves, and our Sub-
 “ jects, who trade to the Kingdom of *England*, to your
 “ Rev. Lordship, as our most particular Friend, whom
 “ we are willing to gratify in every respect that we
 “ shall be capable of, and never to be wanting to you
 “ in any friendly Office. The Lord always preserve
 “ you in Health and Happiness.

“ Given at Cracow, on the 7th of May, in the
 “ Year of our Lord 1527, and in the 21st
 “ Year of our Reign.

“ SIGISMOND R.”

Besides this there are many Letters in the *Cotton* Library to King *Henry* and *Wolsey*, relating to the losing of *Rhodes*, and the imminent Danger *Christendom* was in from the *Turks*, and other Enemies of the *Christian* Faith; and from what appears the King, during the whole Course of the Cardinal's Ministry, notwithstanding the Distance of *England* from these Countries, was always ready to contribute the utmost Assistance in his Power.

Affairs of Cardinal *Wolsey* and the *French* Ambassa-
England. dors had been for some time employed in
 1527. forming several Treaties between their Ma-
 sters, and, to assist those who were already in *England*,
Francis sent over the Bishop of *Tarbæ*, *Gabriel Gra-*
mont, and the Viscount *Turenne*.

Soon

Soon after their Arrival, they concluded with the Cardinal, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Sir *Thomas More*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*,* and other Commissioners, three Treaties, which were signed the 30th of *April*, 1527, at the very Time the Duke of *Bourbon* was marching to *Rome*.

The first Treaty settled, “ That *Treaties between*
 “ the two Kings should jointly send *England and*
 “ Ambassadors to the Emperor, with *France.*
 “ Offers concerning the Ransom of the two Hosta-
 “ ges, and to demand the Payment of what was
 “ due to the King of *England*: That if he re-
 “ jected the Offers, or gave no Answer within 20
 “ Days, the two Kings should proclaim War against
 “ him: That *Francis* should chuse, whether he or
 “ his Son, the Duke of *Orleans*, should marry the
 “ Princess *Mary*.”

By the 2d Treaty it was agreed, “ In Case the
 “ Emperor rejected their Proposals, or deferred his
 “ Answer, all Commerce with him should be forbidden
 “ by both Monarchs: That they should raise and march
 “ against him with an Army of 30,000 Foot, and 1500
 “ Men at Arms; and that two Thirds of the Foot, and
 “ all the Horse should be found by the King of *France*:
 “ That they should equip a Fleet with 15,000 Men,
 “ whereof the King of *France* should find 10,000:
 “ That if the King of *Portugal*, or any other Prince,
 “ should join with the Emperor, they should be declared
 “ Enemies to both Kings: That the Pope and *Ve-*
 “ *netians*

* The Chancellor is chief Judge of this Court, who is assisted by the Attorney General of the Dutchy, and it is called the *Dutchy Court*, which takes Cognizance of all Causes any ways relating to the Revenue of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, which

hath long since been annexed to the Crown. This Court is held at *Westminster-hall* in the lower *Exchequer*, near the *Tally Court*. The present Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, is the Right Hon. *George*, Earl of *Cholmondeley*.

“ *netians* should be included in the League, provided
 “ they continued the War in *Italy* : That the King
 “ of *France* should endeavour to persuade the King
 “ of *Navarre* and the Duke *Guelders* to make War on
 “ the Emperor : That the League should be noti-
 “ fied to the Princes of the Empire, and Endeavours
 “ used to prevent their assisting him”

The Substance of the third Treaty was, “ That
 “ this Treaty should not derogate from that of
 “ *Moore* : That there should be a perpetual Peace
 “ between *Francis* and *Henry*, and their respective
 “ Subjects.”

Henry renounced for himself and Successors, all
 Right and Title to the Kingdom of *France*, and
 in general whatever *Francis* now possessed.

In Consideration whereof *Francis* bound himself and
 Successors to pay to *Henry*’s Successors an Annual Pen-
 sion for ever of 50,000 Crowns at two Payments; and
 the Payment of the rest, to commence the Day after
Henry’s Death, without Deduction of what shall re-
 main to be paid after *Henry*’s Decease of the Money
 stipulated by the Treaty of *Moore*.

These Treaties were approved and confirmed by
 the great Men of the two Kingdoms, whose Names
 are inserted in the Articles, under Forfeiture of all
 their Goods, and by the Parliaments of *France*, as well
 as the Courts of Justice in *England*.

Hall says, “ The People were much against the
 “ Princess’s marrying a *French* Prince, because, being
 “ the King’s presumptive Heir, if she succeeded to
 “ the Crown of *England*, she might in such Case be
 “ too much under the Influence of *France*.”

In the Progress of the Treaty between the Car-
 dinal and the King’s other Ministers, and the *French*
 Ambassadors, concerning the Espousals of the Prin-
 cess *Mary* to the *French* King, or the Duke of *Or-*
leans, (for which it was not as yet determined) the
 Bishop

Bishop of *Tarbæ* raised * Objections against the Legitimacy of this Princess *Mary*, upon account of her being Daughter to Queen *Catherine*; who had formerly married Prince *Arthur*, and therefore he insinuated, that it was not lawful for the King to marry the Widow of his deceased Brother, which was the first Rise, as many Historians affirm, of the famous Pro-

* The Legitimacy of the Princess *Mary* was not only questioned by the Ministers of *France*, and probably by express Direction of that Court, out of regard to the Nicety and Importance of the Affair in general, as well as for the Reasons above specified; but the like Exception was also made to her Birth by the Emperor and Council of *Spain*, upon which they grounded the Reasons of dissolving the Contract of Marriage between her and his Imperial Majesty, alledging the unlawful Marriage of King *Henry* to the Relict of his Brother *Arthur*, of whom this Princess was born. Upon this was questioned not only her own Birth, but whether her Children would be legitimate.

Though it is highly probable, that the Exceptions did not proceed so much from any religious Conflicts of Mind, as from Considerations purely political in the *Spaniards*, that the Emperor might be at Liberty to marry a Daughter of *Portugal*, where his Interest, and perhaps his Affection, might then more encline him; and in the *French* Minister, that the King of *England*, in regard to this Difficulty, might condescend to more fa-

vourable Conditions on the Behalf of his Master.

Yet nothing is more evident, than that Dispensations for Marriages, within the prohibited Degrees, were frequently granted by the Popes, and that this was one of the Means that contributed much to replenish the Papal Exchequer. The very Bull, *Henry* the VIIIth solicited from *Clement* the VIIth, in order to dissolve his Marriage with Queen *Catherine*, doth suppose such a dispensing Power in his Holiness; for it allows, 'The King to contract Marriage with any other Woman, though nearly allied to him, either in the 2d or more remote Degree of Consanguinity, or in the first Degree of Affinity, or joining to him by lawful or unlawful Commerce, provided she be not the Relict of his Brother.' And the Exception even as to her is not made on Account of any absolutely moral Incapacity of their marrying together, but upon a Suggestion, that a License to that End had not been canonically obtained, or confirmed with full and sufficient Powers.

The Emperor afterwards procured a Marriage by Virtue of a Dispensation from Pope *Julius*

Proceedings in relation to the Divorce, and opened the Way to a most surprizing Change in the King's Con-

the III^d, because they were allied in the 3^d Degree, and *Charles* had contracted to marry her when he was under Age. After his Death, King *Philip* desirous of preserving his Interest in *England*, seriously treated concerning a Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, Sister to his late Wife, with a Promise that he would obtain a special Dispensation from the Pope, which the *French* King secretly opposed; but, as the Queen gave *Philip* a Repulse, *Francis* might have saved himself that Trouble.

Notwithstanding this Repulse, if Credit may be given to certain Historians, King *Philip* was the Occasion, as herself acknowledged, of preserving the Life of this Queen: For, when it was proposed under the Reign of Queen *Mary*, and during her Confinement in the Tower, that she should be put to Death, upon a Suspicion, which the Event proved not to be ill-grounded, that on her succeeding to the Crown, she would extirpate the *Romish* Religion, King *Philip* opposed the Execution of so cruel and unjust a Design; but upon what Motive it is not easy to resolve with Certainty: Some have thought what he had principally in View was to prevent the Accession of *Mary Stuart*, Queen of *Scotland*, (then married to *Francis* the II^d) to the Crown of *England*, because the Union of so many Kingdoms under one Power, might render them an Over-balance for the House of *Austria*, and quite frus-

trate the vast Designs of universal Empire then forming; and indeed, from the Time of *Henry* the VIIIth, nothing has more contributed to preserve and support the *Protestant* Religion, than the mutual and successive Jealousies between the two Popish Powers of the *Empire* and *France*.

By Virtue of Dispensations the House of *Austria*, for certain Reasons of State, marry among themselves, and so incorporate into one Family as Members of the same Body. *Philip* the II^d of *Spain* might call the Arch-duke, *Albert*, Brother, Cousin, Nephew, and Son; for, either by Blood or Affinity, he stood in one or other of these Relations to him, being Uncle to himself, Cousin-german to his Father, Husband to his Sister, and Father to his Wife: And so it happened; by Reason of the Canonical Restraints and Limitations made by several of the Popes, few of the Princes, or their Families, in *Europe* could then inter-marry without obtaining a Dispensation from one or more Canons, which gave an Opportunity for those holy Fathers, who would traffick with the Powers committed to them, to make their own Terms with the Parties concerned. The Pope's Power of granting Dispensations might perhaps be controverted, yet, that those, who professed Obedience to his Holiness did in general acknowledge such a Power in him, and submit to it when executed by him, can bear no Dispute.

Conduct, and in particular, as to bringing on the Cardinal's Disgrace.

For now the Lady *Anna Bulleyn* was recalled to Court, and, according to the general Report, the King's Affection for her, which had been concealed, began to break out, from which the Cardinal, when he perceived what was likely to ensue, endeavoured to divert him as much as possible, by repeated Persuasions upon his Knees: However, it is but too probable, that this very Instance of his Zeal, as a faithful Servant, was not very acceptable to his Master, whose violent Temper could not bear any Thing like a Restraint, especially when the Enjoyment of a fresh Lady was in View. Notwithstanding all this when that Lady was introduced a second Time to Court, she at first carried on a very friendly Correspondence with *Wolsey*, as appears from the following Letters.

*Anna Bulleyn
recalled to
Court.*

ANNA BULLEYN to Cardinal WOLSEY.

My Lord,

“ I N my most humble wise that my Heart can
 “ think, I desire you to pardon me that am so bold
 “ to trouble you with my simple and rude Writing,
 “ esteeming it to proceed from her that does much
 “ desire to know that your Grace does well, as I per-
 “ ceive by this Bearer that you do, the which I pray
 “ God long to continue as I am most bound to pray
 “ for. I do know the great Pains and Troubles that
 “ you have taken for me, both Day and Night, is ne-
 “ ver like to be recompenced on my Part but only in
 “ loving you, next unto the King's Grace, above all
 “ Creatures living; and I do not doubt but the daily
 “ Proofs of my Deeds shall manifestly declare and af-
 “ firm my Writing to be true, and I trust you do
 “ think the same.

My

“ My Lord, I do assure you, I do long to hear
 “ from you the News of the Legate ; for I do hope,
 “ if they come from you they shall be very good, and
 “ I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more,
 “ if it were possible, as I know ’tis not. And thus,
 “ remaining in my stedfast Hope, I make an End of
 “ my Letter. Written with the Hand of her that is
 “ most bound to be.

“ *Your humble Servant, ANN BULLEYN.*

“ The Writer of this Letter would not cease, till
 “ she had caused me likewise to set my Hand, desir-
 “ ing you, though it be short, to take in good Part.
 “ I assure you there is neither of us but that greatly
 “ desire to see you, so much more joyous to hear that
 “ you have escaped this Plague so well, trusting the
 “ Fury thereof to be passed, especially with them
 “ that keep a good Diet, as I trust you do. The not
 “ hearing of the Legate’s Arrival in *France* causes
 “ us, somewhat to muse, notwithstanding we trust by
 “ your Diligence and Vigilancy, with the Assistance
 “ of Almighty God, shortly to be eased out of that
 “ Trouble. No more to you at this Time, but that
 “ I pray God send you as good Health and Prospe-
 “ rity as the Writer would.

“ *By your loving Sovereign and Friend,*
 “ HENRY R.”

ANNA BULLEYN *to the* CARDINAL.

MY LORD,

“ **I** N my most humble wise that my poor Heart
 “ can think, I do thank your Grace for your kind
 “ Letter, and for your rich and goodly Present, the
 “ which I shall be never able to deserve without your
 “ Help, of the which I have hitherto had so great
 “ Plenty, that all the Days of my Life I am most
 “ bound of all Creatures, next to the King’s Grace,
 “ to love and serve your Grace, of the which, I be-
 “ seech you never to doubt, that I shall vary from
 “ this

“ this Thought as long as any Breath is in my Body ;
 “ and as touching your Grace’s Trouble with the
 “ Sweat, O thank our Lord, that them that I desired
 “ and prayed for are escaped, that is, the King and
 “ you, not doubting but God has preserved you both
 “ for great Causes, known only of his high Wisdom :
 “ And as for the Coming of the Legate I desire that
 “ much, if it be God’s Pleasure, I pray him to send
 “ this Matter shortly to a good End ; and then I trust,
 “ my Lord, to recompence Part of your great Pains,
 “ in which I must require you, in the mean Time to
 “ accept my good Will instead of the Power, the
 “ which must proceed partly from you, as our Lord
 “ knows ; to whom I beseech to send you long Life,
 “ with Continuance in Honour. Written with the
 “ Hand of her that is most bound to be

“ *Your humble and obedient Servant,*

ANN BULLEYN.”

Though these Letters are full of Respect for the Cardinal, yet it is plain, that his Eminency by no Means approved of the King’s marrying this Lady ; and that her subsequent Behaviour to *Wolsey*, at *Grafton* in *Northamptonshire*, gives us Ground to believe, the Prospect of sharing in the Glories of a Throne, with one of the greatest Monarchs in that Time, soon rendered her disposed to supplant a Person, whom she was informed, had declared himself an Enemy to her Exaltation : Therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that the Cardinal’s secret Enemies at Court laid Hold of so favourable an Opportunity of engaging her in their Designs, when they understood she was offended with him.

Bishop *Burnet* insinuates, “ That there was Cause
 “ to suspect the Demur of the Bishop of *Tarbe*, was
 “ previously concerted between the *French* and *Eng-*
 “ *lish*

“ *lish* Courts, that his Majesty might have the better
 “ Colour from so open and publick an Exception
 “ against his Marriage, first to solicit a Divorce:” But
 then we think it could not answer the *French* Mi-
 nistry’s Views for *Henry* to marry *Anna Bulleyn*; they
 having a Design to secure him for one of their Prin-
 cesses: “ Certain it is, says *Heylin*, That he suf-
 “ fered himself to be so far transported in Affections
 “ towards her, that he could think of nothing else
 “ but what had a Tendency to the Accomplishment
 “ of his Desires; so that the Separation from the Bed
 “ of *Catherine*, which was but coldly followed, upon
 “ the Case of Conscience, was now more hotly pursued
 “ in the Heat of Concupiscence.” The Author of
 the *Church History*, tells us, “ That Queen *Catherine*’s
 “ Years added to her Temper, which was naturally
 “ grave, daily become more and more distastful to
 “ King *Henry*, who was never easy but when in
 “ the midst of gay and revelling Company. That
 “ it was not in his Power to conceal his Love so
 “ artfully, as he did his Aversion; for, among all
 “ the Motives he had to drive on the Divorce,
 “ his Affection for *Anna Bulleyn* appeared upper-
 “ most. That all this Process was moved by the
 “ unseen Spring of that secret Affection; for his
 “ Passion was ungovernable in that Regard. That
 “ *Anna Bulleyn*’s Wit and Behaviour had charmed
 “ the King to the utmost Excess, there being no
 “ Perfection of a worldly Kind but what, he
 “ imagined, she was entirely Mistress of, as Sing-
 “ ing, Dancing, musical Instruments, pleasant Con-
 “ versation, &c. By these Attractions she manag-
 “ ed the King so artfully, in regard to his Amours,
 “ that she always appeared shy and reserved, when
 “ her Virtue seemed to be attached; and yet by
 “ her free and coquet Carriage, often made him
 “ believe he was Master of his Prey; however, upon
 “ a near-

“ a nearer Advance, she gave his Majesty to under-
 “ stand, that her Virtue was dearer to her than her
 “ Life ; that no Mortal should have the last Favour
 “ unless in the State of Wedlock. And thus the in-
 “ fatuated King, fluctuating between the Thoughts of
 “ a Mistress and a Wife, was so intangled, that, ra-
 “ ther than be disappointed in the one, he was re-
 “ solved to precipitate himself upon the other. Now,
 “ as far as Intentions can fall under human Cognizance,
 “ the violent Passion King *Henry* had for this Lady,
 “ not only gave the first Motion to, but carried on
 “ the whole Affair concerning the Divorce. This
 “ Mr. *Cavendish*, not only a cotemporary Writer, but
 “ one of *Wolsey*’s Domesticks, has delivered to Poste-
 “ rity in exprefs Words.

The *French* Ambassadors, having fully executed their Commission, set out for their own Court, highly pleased with their Entertainment during their Abode in *England* ; for the Particulars whereof see Mr. *Cavendish*’s History, in our III^d Vol. fol. 31, to 39.

The News of the Sacking of *Rome* and the Pope’s Captivity having reached *England*, speedily after the Conclusion of the Treaties between *Henry* and *Francis*, their Majesties thought fit to alter the Articles of the Second Treaty, concerning their carrying the War into the *Low Countries*, and agreed to act in *Italy* only. But, as the *English* Troops could not be transported into *Italy*, without great Difficulties and Loss of Time, they concluded, “ That King *Francis* should
 “ carry on the War alone, in Consideration of 30,000
 “ Ducats monthly, to the End of *October*, to be de-
 “ ducted out of what *Francis* owed *Henry*.” And this was signed the 29th of *May*, about three Weeks after the taking of *Rome*.

Soon after the *French* Ambassadors were returned to *France*, the King sent a solemn Ambassy to *Francis* by *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Rockford*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* ; in whose Presence *Francis* swore

The King sends Ambassadors to France.

to observe the Treaties lately concluded at *Westminster*, between himself and the King of *England*. Then the Ambassadors, after having been grandly entertained, returned Home.

The Commissions for hearing Causes by Bill of poor People not answering the designed Purposes, the Cardinal obtained another * from his Majesty, empowering certain Persons to hear Causes in *Chancery* in his Absence, that the Subjects might not be delayed

* *The King to his beloved and faithful John Taylor, Clerk, Master and Keeper of the Rolls of our Chancery, &c.*

K NOW ye, that whereas the most Rev. Father in Christ, *Thomas*, by Divine Permission, Cardinal Priest, &c. has been employed, for the Sake of the Peace and Tranquillity of our Kingdom and Subjects of *England*, and for the Interest, Profit, and Utility of the Publick, in which Post he constantly exists; and considering and piously compassionating the insupportable Cares, Labours, and Fatigues, which he on that Account undergoes and suffers; and lest such singular Fortitude of Mind and Body should be too much impaired, which God avert, through such Fatigues, and he not be able to attend in good Health, as usual, to our most necessary Affairs, with his chiefest Care: Being therefore willing, that Justice be administered to all and every of our Subjects, and fully confiding in your Fidelity and Circumspection, we have appointed you, the aforesaid *John Taylor*, &c. by Virtue of these Presents, granting unto you Power and Authority to hear all and every the Causes, Disputes and Complaints whatever of our Sub-

jects, depending before us in our Chancery, or already moved or to be moved therein; and by the said Lord Chancellor committed to you or any of you, (but not to less than four however) and that for the future shall be committed to you from Time to Time, to be heard, examined and scrutinized, with due Regard, according to the Allegations and Proofs, and your own sound Discretion, to discuss and finally determine, and to command a full Execution thereof. Therefore we command that, with regard to the Premises, you truly and diligently act and execute every Thing with Effect. By the Tenour of these Presents we give it as a firm Command, to all and singular our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, whom it may concern, that in all the said Premises they be intent and obedient in the Execution thereof as it becometh. In Testimony, &c.

Witness the King at Westminster, the 11th Day of June.

It must be here observed, that this Commission has ever since been renewed for the same Purpose, with only varrying the Form.

delayed in their Suits, when his Eminency was called to attend other grand Affairs of the State.

As the Pope was still in Captivity his Majesty expressed great Uneasiness thereat; therefore it was thought mete to concert further Measures with the *French King*, to assist his Holiness and restore Peace to *Italy*; for which Purpose the Cardinal was pitched on to go over to *France* as the King's *High Ambassador*, as *Hall* calls him.

Matters being settled the Cardinal, on the 3d of July, passed through *London* attended by Dr. *Tunstal*, Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Taylor*, Master of the Rolls, Lord *Sands*, the Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Henry Guilford*, * Sir *Thomas More*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, † Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Thomas Wriothesley*,
Wolsey passes into France.

S 2

* Sir *Henry* was elected, at about 39 Years of Age, Knight of the Garter, on the 24th of *April*, 18 *Hen. VIII.* at *Greenwich*, and installed on *St. George's* Feast following, being descended from a very antient Family, who had done considerable Services to the Publick. He was one of the Knights who in Parliament subscribed the Letter to the Pope. He died in the 23d Year of this King; and a curious Picture of him, drawn by the famous *Hans Holbein*, is still in being; and from this great Man the present Sir *Robert Guilford* of *Hampstead-Place*, Bart. is descended.

† Sir *Nicholas Carew* was afterwards made Knight of the Garter by *Henry* the VIIIth, being declared by the Sovereign most worthy to be elected, in regard to the 'Majority of Votes, the 'Eminency of his Extraction, 'his own Fame, the many and 'noble Actions he had perform-

ed; and, being thereon conducted into the Chapter-house, he received the Investiture. He was indeed the only Heir of the younger Branch of the Family of *Carew*, which had seated itself at *Bedington* in *Surry* for a considerable Time: Yet this noble Gentleman afterwards fell under the Displeasure of the same Prince, and was attainted by Act of Parliament, in the 31st Year of his Reign, for High Treason, and beheaded: But his Son *Francis*, 1 *Ed. VI.* procured a Reversal of that Attainder. From this Family was descended the late Honourable Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Bart. who was Knight of the Shire for the County of *Surry*, in the 2d Parliament of *K. George* the 1st, (with the Right Hon. *Arthur Onslow*, Esq; Speaker of the Hon. House of Commons.) His worthy Successor is his only Son, Sir *Nicholas Hacket Carew*, Bart. whose Motto is *Nil conscire sibi*.

ley, Garter King at Arms, and other Knights and Esquires to the Number of 1200; on the 6th he landed at *Calais*; and *Stow* says, "That there he committed the Custody of the Great Seal in the Hands of Dr. *John Taylor*, Master of the Rolls, until his Return to *Calais*;" which not only shews that the Cardinal knew better than to take it out of his Master's Dominions, but in some measure wipes off *Rapin's* Reflection on that Head. On the 12th he was complimented, in *Francis's* Name, by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, six Bishops, and 40 Gentlemen, whom the King had sent for that Purpose; and, in the *Collection of the publick Acts*, we find *Francis's* Letters Patent, empowering the Cardinal, to release the Prisoners at what Place soever he should arrive in his Dominions, a Translation of which we have here introduced.

* "FRANCIS, *by the Grace of God, King of France,*
" makes it known to all present and to come.

" WHEREAS our most dear and great Friend,
 " the Cardinal of *York*, Legate in *England*,
 " is shortly to meet us in our Kingdom, on the Part
 " of our most dear and most beloved Brother and
 " Cousin the King of *England*, on certain great and
 " urgent Affairs, relating to the Interest, Profit, and
 " Advantage of us, and of our said Brother and Cousin;
 " and desiring with all our Heart to do Honour
 " to that Cardinal with all the Favour we can think on,
 " as well for the most cordial Love which we have
 " for our aforesaid most dear Brother and Cousin,
 " the King of *England*, as for himself, We, for these
 " Causes and other Considerations moving us thereunto,
 " out of our proper Inclination, certain Knowledge,
 " special Grace, full Power and Royal Authority, have
 " given and granted, and by these Presents do give
 " and

* *Rym. Fæd. Vol. XIV.*

“ and grant unto him, that he may, in all the Cities
 “ and Boroughs through which he shall pass, on his
 “ Journey towards us, deliver all, and every the Pri-
 “ soners then confined in those Places; and to forgive,
 “ acquit and pardon all Matters, Crimes, and Delin-
 “ quencies, committed and perpetrated by such Pri-
 “ soners, in the same Manner and Form as we do,
 “ and have been accustomed to do, at our first vi-
 “ siting Cities and Boroughs of our said Kingdom;
 “ and that he may also grant and expedite his Letters
 “ Patent under his Seal, the which we will and desire
 “ to have as much Effect and Force, as if given by
 “ Ourselves.

“ We also order, by these Presents, our beloved
 “ and faithful, Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts, and
 “ others, our Justices and Officers, and their Lieu-
 “ tenants, holding our Courts of Parliament, and to
 “ every of them in their respective Posts, that such
 “ Letters given by the aforesaid Legate be regarded
 “ in every Particular, according to their Meaning and
 “ Tenour, as if they had been granted and given by
 “ ourselves, excepting always the Crimes of High Trea-
 “ son, Murder, Rape, Sacrilege, Coining, and burn-
 “ ing Houses; for such is our Pleasure: And, that
 “ the same may be put in Execution in the respec-
 “ tive Places, we will that on Sight hereof, given
 “ under the Royal Seal, Faith may be given there-
 “ unto. In Testimony whereof we have caused our
 “ Seal to be affixed with a *Salvo* always to our
 “ Rights, &c. Given at *St. Dennis* in *France*, in the
 “ Month of *July*, in the Year of our Lord, 1527,
 “ and of our Reign the 13th.

“ *By the KING.*

“ *BRETON.*”

On the 3d of *August* the Cardinal arrived at *Ab-
 berville*; and, as soon as King *Francis* heard the
 Car-

*King Francis
meets him.*

Cardinal with his grand Retinue was arrived at *Abberville*, he repaired thither, attended by a numerous Court, where he received him with such Tokens of Esteem, that he lodged in the same Palace with *Wolsey*, who was then called by the *French*, according to *Hall's* Report, the *Pacifick Cardinal*; and it was not long before the Cardinal concluded with the *French* King three different Treaties.

First Treaty.

By which it was agreed, "That, as King *Henry* had left it to the King of *France's* Choice to marry the Princess *Mary*, or to leave her for the Duke of *Orleans*, his second Son, the Duke should espouse the Princess when they should be both of Age: That then, and not before, should be settled the Marriage Articles concerning the Dowry, the Education of the Duke of *Orleans* in *England*, and the like: That, whether the Marriage should be consummated, or the two Kings think fit to dispose of their Children otherwise, their Friendship was to remain inviolable; the Marriage being to be considered only as a Supplement to the Treaties of the 30th of *April*, and not as Part of them: That the Treaty concluded at *Moore* should remain in full Force: That the Project of the Interview of the Kings should be laid aside, on account of the Season, and Circumstances of Affairs." As by the Treaty of the 29th of *May* it was agreed, that the King of *England* should contribute a certain Sum for the War of *Italy*, it was concluded by this, "That, in case the Emperor accepted the Offer the two Kings should make him by their Ambassadors, the said Contribution should cease without any Prejudice to the Treaty of Peace: But, if he rejected them, the League offensive and defensive should subsist, on Condition, that it should be reckoned during this Campaign, the King of *England* had
" dis-

“ discharged his Part of the Treaty, as to the Con-
 “ tribution he should give for the War with *Italy*.
 “ That the King of *England* should form no De-
 “ mands upon the King of *France*, on the Score of *France*
 “ the Charge he should be at for the War in *Italy*.
 “ That, to prevent all Disputes, without enquiring
 “ into the Number of Troops, which the King of
 “ should maintain in *Italy*, the King of *England* should
 “ pay for the Month of *June* foregoing 20,000 Crowns;
 “ for *July* 30,000, and 32,000 for each of the three
 “ following Months; on Condition, however, that, if
 “ in these last Months, the *English* Commissaries found
 “ in the Army of *Italy* a less Number of Troops, than
 “ what the King of *France* was to maintain, the Con-
 “ tribution should be abated in Proportion; and that,
 “ if a Peace was made during these three last Months,
 “ the Contribution should cease.”

“ By the second, which only concerned Second
 “ Trade, *Francis* bound himself to give the Treaty.
 “ *English* Merchants such Privileges as should be
 “ agreed upon hereafter.”

“ By the third the two Kings were Third
 bound, 1st, “ Not to consent to the calling Treaty.
 “ a General Council during the Pope’s Captivity.
 “ 2^{dly}, To receive no Bull, Brief, or Mandate, from
 “ the Pope till he was at Liberty. 3^{dly}, That, till
 “ the Pope resumed the Government of the Church,
 “ whatever should be determined in *England* by the
 “ Cardinal Legate, assisted by the principal Mem-
 “ bers of the *Clergy*, * and in *France* by the *Clergy*
 “ of the *Gallican* Church, should be punctually per-
 “ formed.”

These reciprocal Engagements being thus entered
 into, *Francis* swore and subscribed an Oath for the Ob-
 servance of them in the Presence of the Cardinal, at
 the

* Called together by the King’s Authority, and his Consent being first had to what should be determined. ‘ And here, says Lord
 ‘ *Herbert*, began the Relish our
 ‘ King took of Governing the
 ‘ Church.’ P. 85, of his *Life and*
 ‘ *Reign of Henry the VIIIth.*

the High Altar at *Amiens*; who at the same Time, on the Behalf of the King his Master, did the like, as the Memorial and Schedules do testify. *

We omit here to recite the great Honours that were paid to the Cardinal in this Ambassy, because Mr. *Cavendish*, who was an Eye-witness of the whole, has given a full Account thereof. See Vol. III. p. 21, to 28.

*The Cardinal
returns to Eng-
land.*

About the End of *September* the King and the Cardinal parted, when *Francis* not only made him rich Presents, but conducted him thro' the Town, of *Abberville*, accompanied by the King of *Navarre*, the Pope's Legate, and the Prime Nobility of *France*; but, about a Mile from the City, the King halted, and the Cardinal and he took a solemn Leave of each other.

When *Wolfey* arrived at *Calais*, he ordered a Mart to be kept at that Town in Imitation of that at *Antwerp*. † Soon after he returned Home, and was most kindly received by his Majesty, who in a little while not only wrote a Letter with his own Hand to the Cardinal, acknowledging the great Service he had done both him and his Country, but, to shew his further Satisfaction with what the Cardinal had accomplished in his Ambassy, was pleased to appoint a publick Thanksgiving; and, that it might be celebrated with the more Grandeur, his Majesty in his Robes, attended by his Queen, the Cardinal Prime Minister, a great Number of Peers, both Spiritual and Temporal, and an infinite Number of Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen, repaired to *St. Paul's, London*, being received at *Temple-bar* by the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Court of Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*; and, as the King and his Queen, with the Nobility and Gentry passed, the People all the Way testified their Affection by loud Acclamations of Joy. The Cardinal himself sung the High Mass, assisted by

* *Rym. Fæd.* Vol. XIV. † This is a fresh Instance of the Cardinal's Regard for TRADE.

by 24 Bishops and Abbots, who paid him all the Devoirs due to his Legatine Character. The King, and the great Master of *France*, representing his Prince, received the Host from the Cardinal upon their Knees, as a solemn Security for the Performance of the Treaty, by which a perpetual Peace was concluded between the two Kingdoms; and in the mean time Mass was solemnizing both by the Choir of that Cathedral and the King's Chapel. After which the Cardinal read the Articles of Peace, and then, in Sight of all the People, took hold of the Gold Seal and subscribed them with his own Hand, as did the Great Master of *France*; which being done, the whole Court with the Ambassadors went in Procession to dine with the Cardinal.

The *French* King, on the 20th of *October*, sent *Henry* the Order of *St. Michael* by *Monf. Montmorency*, one of the Knights of that Order, attended by 600 Horse. This Lord was introduced in great State to a publick Audience of the King, *November* the 10th, at *Greenwich*, where he met with a most gracious Reception, and soon after he invested our Prince with the Order; but the most Christian King was pleased, upon this Occasion, to empower his Ambassador to dispence with his Majesty's Oath, or even to be contented with his bare Word: However, *Henry* thought proper to swear to observe all the Statutes of the Order of *St. Michael*, which should not be contrary to any other he had already received.

This Order was sent in Consequence of the Compliment *Francis* had passed on the Cardinal in *France*. The King, having the Collar of his Order about his Neck, with the Image of *St. Michael** pendent thereto in his Hand, he said to the Cardinal, *Since the*
VOL. IV. T King,

* The Military Order of *St. Michael* was instituted by *Lewis* the XIth in 1469. The Knights wear a golden Collar of Shell-work one within another, with a Medal of *St. Michael*, the Arch-angel, the supposed antient Protector of *France*, pendant thereto.

King, my Brother, and I be thus knit in Heart, we should be tied per Colles & Jambes, take and give each other our Orders. On which Henry sent the Order of the Garter to Francis by Arthur Plantagenet, natural Son of Henry the IVth, accompanied by Dr. John Taylor, Master of the Rolls, and others; and the French King took the usual Oath of the Order with the same Restrictions as Henry had done, when he swore to the Order of St. Michael.

By the third Treaty concluded with France, which we have just mentioned, it was agreed, “That the Authority

Additional Power conferred on the Cardinal.

“of any general Council, summoned by the Pope while under Constraint, or by the Emperor, should not be acknowledged: That the Clergy on both Sides should be obliged solemnly to disclaim and enter their Protest against such a Council: That in particular all Acts and Instruments, tending to the Diminution or Prejudice of the Cardinal’s Legatine Character, should be declared of no Effect; and that all Persons should be punished, who should report them.”

For it is here further to be observed, that, whilst his Eminence was in France, it was settled, in a Conference with certain other Cardinals, “That the Regulation of all Church Government should be according to the Form here prescribed.” Whereupon he took upon himself the Administration of Ecclesiastical Affairs in England, to execute which he had the Pope’s Authority by a Bull, whereby he was authorized to act in Quality of his Holiness’s Vicar General in all Parts of the King his Master’s Dominions. So that by this Substitution he received an Accession of Authority beyond what he could exercise in his Capacity of the Pope’s Legate; and, while the Pope should continue under Restraint, he was empowered to do whatever his Holiness might have done in Person;

son ; and all the Ecclesiastical Constitutions he should make, assisted by the *English* Prelates, by Consent of the King, were to be held as sacred and binding as if the Pope had been present, and immediately gave his express Sanction.

By Virtue of this extensive Power some Authors say, he drew within the Verge of his Jurisdiction in *England* all Matters cognizable in the Ecclesiastical Courts ; but it did not long continue, because, before the Year expired, the Pope was delivered from his Captivity.

During these Transactions the famous *Tyndal*, *Joy*, and other Reformers were employed abroad in translating the *New-Testament* into *English*, which they got printed, and sent several hundreds of them over into *England*, where they were privately dispersed : But, as soon as it was found out, the Persons that had them in their Custody were either imprisoned or severely reprimanded, and the Books were taken from them and publickly burnt ; but this was not done till after the Cardinal's Disgrace and Death.

The New Testament burnt.

Luther continued to preach his Doctrines wherever he came, and, tho' all Means possible were used to suppress it in *England*, it prevailed in the University of *Oxford*, especially in the Cardinal's College, which caused Dr. *Fiddes* to remark, " That the Cardinal's " Intention, in erecting his College, proceeded expressly upon this Suggestion, that the Society he " desired to establish would be a Means of promoting good Learning, and thereby of extirpating " the many Heresies and Schisms which had spread " themselves over the *Christian* World : And yet it " happened, by the Providence of God, who frequently over-rules the Designs of Men, to effect " such Ends as were not only beside their Intention, " but directly opposite to it, which happened to be

Luther's Doctrines prevail.
1527.

“ the Case here ; for there were none more active
 “ and instrumental in opening a Way to the *Re-*
 “ *formation* in *England*, than the Members of that
 “ Society the Cardinal founded, with Intention of
 “ doing eminent Service thereby to the Papal
 “ Cause.”

Some Members of the other Societies likewise concurred in promoting the *Reformation*, and though many of them afterwards were so intimidated as to recant, yet others chose rather to be expelled their Colleges, imprisoned for Life, nay, to suffer Death in the Flames, than abjure the Doctrines they had openly professed ; all those violent Methods, taken to suppress them, proving ineffectual, as well as the publick Sermons and Disputations, whereby the most Learned of those who professed Obedience to the Papal See endeavoured to convert and reclaim them.

William Fitz-Williams, Esq; * who had been for some time in the Cardinal's Service, having a handsome

* This Gentleman was descended from a very antient and noble Family, who have a Tradition that *William* the Ist, called the Conqueror, in Token of Service done him by *William Fitz-Williams*, at the Battle of *Battle-abbey* in *Essex*, gave him the Scarfe off from his own Arm, that he wore in that Battle, which Scarfe remains, as we have heard, in the Possession of the present Heir of this noble Family.

This Gentleman was so grateful to his old Master, Cardinal *Wolfey*, that, upon his Disgrace, he readily attended him when passing by his Seat, and entertained him in so noble a Man-

ner, that the King was highly disgusted at it, and demanded, *How he durst entertain such a one in the Manner he had done ?* To which he answered, *That he had not so done in Disrespect to his Majesty, but purely to shew his Gratitude to one who had been so gracious a Master, and partly the Means of his good Fortune.* This Answer so well pleased the King, that he declared, *he had but few such Servants*, immediately knighted him, and made him one of his Privy Council. From this Hon. Knight the present Right Hon. *William Earl Fitz-Williams*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, is descended. — See the *Irish Compendium*.



*To the Right Hon.^{ble} George Lord Lyttelton F.R.S
This Plate is humbly Inscribed by his Lordships most
humble most obedient & faithful Servant Joseph Grove.*



some Estate, before the End of this Year took leave of his worthy Master, and retired to his Seat in the Country; on whose Resignation *Thomas Cromwell*,* then lately returned from *Italy*, and a Gentleman of Experience and good Sense, succeeded in the Cardinal's

The Cardinal takes Mr. Cromwell into his Service.

good

* *Thomas Cromwell* was born at *Putney* in *Surry*, whose Father was a *Blacksmith*, and could bestow no great Cost on his Education; yet was his Son's Activity so prevalent, his Wit so pregnant, his Service so faithful, his Address so undaunted, yet modest, and his Pen so ready, that he could not be long concealed, nor hindered from Favour. He had also so strong a Memory, that, in one Journey to and from *Rome*, he learned the whole *New Testament*, translated by *Erasmus* into *Latin*, by heart.

As he grew up his Inclination

led him to travel into foreign Countries, to see the World and learn Experience: He first went into *France*, thence into *Italy*, there entered himself a Soldier in the Duke of *Bourbon's* Army, was at the famous Siege of *Rome*, and then returned to *England*.

Shakespear gives us this Account, in his Play of *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, of the Reason that induced the Cardinal to take *Cromwell* into his Service, where he introduces his Eminence, *Sir Christopher Hales*, Attorney-General, and *Cromwell*.

Wolf. Is that your Man?

Hales. An like your Grace, he is a Scholar and a Linguist; One that has travell'd many Parts of *Christendom*, my Lord.

Wolf. My Friend, come nearer, Have you been a Traveller?

Cromw. I have added to my Knowledge the *Low Countries*, *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and *Italy*;

And, tho' small Gain of Profit I did find,
Yet did please my Eye, content my Mind.

Wolf. What do you think of the several States
And Princes Courts as you have travell'd?

Cromw. No Court with *England* may compare,
Neither for State or Civil Government:

Lust dwells in *France*, in *Italy*, and *Spain*,
From the poor Peasant to the Prince's Train;
In *Germany* and *Holland* Riot serves,
And he that most can drink most he deserves;
England I praise not, for I here was born,
But that she laugheth the other into Scorn.

Wolf.

good Graces, who, being now intent on carrying on his Building at *Oxford*, was pleased to intrust him with several great Affairs, and, in Process of Time becoming a very great Favourite, discharged himself faithfully to his Master both in Prosperity and Adversity, which was so highly to his Honour, that he arrived at last to be Earl of *Essex*.

WE shall next from the Beginning of this Year continue our Account of foreign Affairs, intermixed with the Cardinal's last Attempt for the Popedom, and prosecute the same to the End of the Year 1530, and then return to speak of the Affairs of *England*, connecting the History of the Divorce, and conclude it with *Wolsey's* Disgrace and Death.

The King sends new Instructions to his Ministers in Spain.

1528.

The *French* King and ours being now firmly united, in order to carry the Treaties they had made into Execution, King *Henry* thought proper, before he proceeded to make use of Arms against the Emperor, to send to his Ambassador, who was still in *Spain*, to make the following Demands of his Imperial Majesty. 1st, "That he should pay what he had borrowed of him and his Father King *Henry* the VIIth. 2^{dly}, Pay him 500,000 Crowns, he had obliged himself to do, in case he married not the Princess *Mary*. 3^{dly}, According to the Tenour of their Treaty, satisfy him for his "Pen-

Wolf. My Lord, there dwells within that Spirit
More than can be discern'd by outward Eye.
Sir Christopher, will you part with your Man?

Hales. I have thought to proffer him to your Lordship,
And now you see he hath proffered himself.

Wolf. What is thy Name?

Cromw. Cromwell, my Lord.

Wolf. Then, *Cromwell*, here we make thee Solicitor of our Causes,
And nearest next ourself.

Gardiner, give your kind Welcome to the Man.

[*Exeunt.*]

“ Pension from the King of *France*, whereof there
 “ was now due four Years and four Months. 4^{thly},
 “ Release the Pope, and satisfy him for all the Da-
 “ mages committed by his Troops.”

To which the Emperor answered: “ 1st, That he
 “ had never denied his being Debtor to the King
 “ of *England*; but was surprized that he should at
 “ that Juncture insist on Payment. 2^{dly}, That he
 “ would write to the King, to satisfy him why he did
 “ not think himself liable to the Penalty demanded.
 “ 3^{dly}, That Orders were sent to *Italy* to set the
 “ Pope immediately at Liberty:” But said nothing
 directly concerning the Satisfaction of the Pension;
 though it is not unlikely he might couch it in the
 first Article. However, these Replies did not in the
 least satisfy *Henry*, so that he seemed bent to carry on
 the War against the Emperor.

As *Clement* the VIIth was still to be
 confined in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, till
 he could pay the Sums exacted from
 him, and, as he had but little Money,
 could only pay Part of what he promised, his Cap-
 tivity was likely to continue longer than he expected:
 Also the Emperor not having Advice of the Sacking
 of *Rome*, and the Pope's Imprisonment, sooner than
 the beginning of *June*, and above a Month more
 passed before he came to any Resolution, the Pope
 wrote to King *Henry*, and caused the seventeen Car-
 dinals, who were confined with him, to do the same;
 whereby they desired his Protection, and entreated him
 to use his best Endeavours to free them from their un-
 happy Condition.

*Clement con-
 fined in his
 own Castle.
 1528.*

But, instead of setting the Pope immediately at Li-
 berty, as the Emperor had promised our King, he was
 contriving how he might with a tolerable Grace con-
 vey him into *Spain*, in order to make a better
 Bargain with him, than he could do in *Italy*. Of this
 Cardi-

Cardinal *Wolsey* informed the King by a Letter of the 29th of *July*, by which it appears, that, notwithstanding the Emperor's pretended Moderation, he was very fond of having a Pope Prisoner in *Spain*, as just before he had had a King.

It is certain his Majesty's Instances in the Pope's Behalf greatly embarrassed the Emperor; and as the Kings of *England* and *France* jointly laboured to obtain the Pope's Liberty, he saw plainly that this Negotiation tended to unite them more and more, which must consequently break all his Measures in respect to his Affairs in *Italy*; therefore he tried to divide them, and one of his Expedients was, to propose to Cardinal *Wolsey* (for now he thought proper to correspond with him again) a Marriage between the Duke of *Richmond*, the King's natural Son, and *Isabella*, Princess of *Portugal*, with whom he offered in Dower the Dutchy of *Milan*, in Prejudice of the lawful Heir, Duke *Sforza*: But this Bait would not take, for the Cardinal advised the King against it. However, as it was thought proper to keep some shew of a Correspondence, the Proposal was received. Another Way was to endeavour to gain upon *Wolsey*, by offering him a large Sum besides his Pension; but the Cardinal was not to be bribed, nor do we find one Instance of his betraying his Master to serve his own Interest; nay, *Rapin*, finds himself obliged to confess, that the Emperor failed in his Application with respect to bribing *Wolsey*, but gives it this Turn, according to his usual Candour, "That for once he (meaning the Emperor) could not succeed; but whether *Wolsey* was now too far engaged, or was bent to be revenged of the Emperor, who had twice deceived him; or whether the Business of the Divorce was now resolved on, in which Case it was not possible for them to promise to espouse the Emperor's Interests, I cannot take upon myself to say."

Be

Be that as it was, the Emperor, seeing the ill Effect of the Pope's Captivity, dispatched the General of the Order of *St. Francis* to the Vice-roy of *Naples*, with Orders to release him; but the General, finding the Vice-roy dead, delivered the Instructions to *Hugo de Moncada*; the Purport of which was in general, That his Holiness should be bound to pay the Ar-rears due to the Army, and give Security to forsake the League: But, as it was not easy for the Pope to find either Pledges or Money, the Affair having been so prolonged, in the mean while he solicited *Lautrec*, by private Messages, to approach *Rome*, in order to facilitate his Deliverance: And, though *Lautrec* had positive Orders not to make too much Haste, his March was of good Service to the Pope; for *Moncada*, seeing the Kingdom of *Naples* was about to be invaded, and that it was not possible to lead thither the *Imperial* Army, which was at *Rome*, without giving them Money, on the 2d of *October*, concluded a Treaty with the Pope to this Effect:

“ That the Pope should not oppose
 “ the Emperor in the Affairs of *Naples*
 “ or *Milan*: That he should grant to the
 “ Emperor a Cruzade in *Spain*, and a
 “ 10th in the rest of his Dominions: That
 “ the Emperor should keep *Civita Vecchia*, *Ostria*,
 “ *Citta*, *Castellana*, and the Castle of *Furli*: That
 “ he should pay down to the *German* Troops
 “ 60,000 Ducats, and 35,000 to the *Spaniards*: That
 “ in a Fortnight after he should pay them 350,000
 “ more: That, until the first Payments were made,
 “ he should be conducted to some safe Place out of
 “ *Rome*, and give Hostages.”

*The Emperor's
 General con-
 cludes a Trea-
 ty with the
 Pope.*

The Treaty being signed, and two Cardinals delivered as Hostages, it was agreed, That, on the 10th of *December*, the Pope should be taken out of the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and conducted to a Place appointed: But, as he was afraid of a longer Confinement,

because he was unable to perform the Treaty, he escaped in Disguise the Night before, and shut himself up in *Orvieto*.

When *Lautrec* heard the Pope was at Liberty, he restored to him the City of *Parma*, and marched to *Bologna*, where he staid three Weeks, expecting fresh Orders from the King his Master. Some Days after he received a Letter from the Pope, acknowledging himself indebted to him for his Liberty, and intimating, that, being forced to grant the *Imperialists* whatever they required, he did not think himself obliged to perform his Engagements.

We here see, in the Compass of three Years Time, two Kings and a Pope were taken Prisoners by the Emperor's Forces: But neither the King of *France* nor the Pope thought themselves under any Obligation to perform the hard Conditions they were obliged to submit to, in order to get rid of their Captivity.

For *Varillas* says expressly as to the Treaty signed by King *Francis*, when he was a Prisoner at *Madrid*,
 “ No body there imagined, that such an unrea-
 “ sonable Convention ought to have been execut-
 “ ed; and the *Spaniards*, who had no Share in the
 “ Administration, had no sooner heard of it, but they
 “ published, though falsely, that the *Flemings*, who
 “ seconded it, had suffered themselves to be corrupted
 “ with Money: The Chancellor *Gattinara* constantly
 “ refused to seal it, and, when the Emperor, after hav-
 “ ing to no purpose used Persuasions and Intreaties with
 “ him, flew into a Passion, and commanded him to ex-
 “ pedite the Instrument, he answered, *That an honest*
 “ *Man ought not, on any Occasion, to employ against his*
 “ *Master that Authority which he had given him*; and
 “ at the same time returned him the Seal.* The Em-
 “ peror received it only to seal the Treaty himself,
 “ and returned it immediately after to the Chan-
 “ cellor: But it was with a great deal of Difficulty
 “ he could persuade him to take it, *Gattinara* hav-
 “ ing

* *A noble Memento this!*

“ing represented to him, *That it would be shameful to receive the Seal after such a Profanation.*”

His Holiness now acknowledged, by a publick Notification to the King of *The Pope writes to K. Henry.* *England* and the Cardinal, that they had been the great Instruments of procuring his Liberty, and desired the King to continue his Protection and Favour to the Papal See.

The News of the Pope's Escape was no sooner known in *England*, but, on the 5th of *Jan.* 1528, Cardinal *Wolsey* repaired in great State to *St. Paul's*, to return God Thanks for his Holiness's Delive-

Great Rejoycings in England on the Pope's Deliverance.

rance from his Captivity. On this Occasion the Cardinal landed at *Black-fryars*, between eight and nine in the Morning, attended by several Noblemen and Gentlemen, where he was met by the Ambassadors of the Pope, the *French* King, of *Venice*, of *Florence*, and of *Milan*; from thence this grand Company proceeded on Horse-back to *St. Paul's*, at the Door whereof they were met by the Officers at Arms, and four of the Prebends, who received the Cardinal under a Canopy of Gold Cloth, in which manner he proceeded into the Church, having the Pope's Ambassador on the right Hand, and the *French* Ambassador on the left, till he came to the Arches, where was prepared a Place with Cushions and Carpets: Here the Cardinal kneeled, and the Bishops of *London*, *Bath*, *Landaff*, the Priors of *Westminster*, and *St. Saviours*, the Abbots of *Straford* and *Tower-hill*, with others to the Amount of 16 Mitres, in Procession met him. From hence the Cardinal proceeded up to the High Altar, where he performed his Devotions: Then, with the other Prelates, Nobles, and the whole Choir of *St. Paul's*, and that belonging to himself, in rich Copes, went in the same Order round the Church, the Officers at Arms attending; next after them the Ambassadors, then the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Livery of *Lon-*

don. The Proceſſion being over the Maſs of the *Holy Trinity* was ſung by the Biſhop of *London*, the Prior of *St. Mary Spittal*, Goſpeller, the Prior of *Chriſt Church*, Epistoſter. Maſs being ended the Cardinal with his Attendants went to the Choir-door, where Dr. *Capan* declared to the People the great Calamity that our *Mother the Holy Church* had ſuſtained, as well through the *Lutheran* Sect, as by the irreverent Treatment his Holineſs had met with in the ſorrowful Deſtruction of *Rome* and his Imprisonment; but that, by the Help of God, he had happily eſcaped their Hands: Wherefore the Lord Legate's Grace, by the King's Commandment, cauſed this noble Aſſembly to meet, in order to return Thanks to God Almighty, and the whole Company of Heaven, for ſo great a Reſtoration. The Doctor having done ſpeaking, the Cardinal gave his Benediction to all the People, whereat there was a great Shout. From hence the Cardinal again returned to the Altar, where he ſung *Te Deum*, which was commonly ſung by the King's Trumpets, &c. as well *English* as *Venetians*. After the Ceremony was ended the Cardinal returned to his Palace to Dinner, attended by the Ambaſſadors and other great Men; and the whole Proceſſion was concluded without the leaſt Diſorder.

England and France proclaim War against the Emperor.

As the Emperor's Proceedings had given very great Diſſatisfaction to the Kings of *England* and *France*, they, the beginning of this Year, ſent to their reſpective Ambaſſadors to quit the Imperial Court; and, as they were eager in the Purſuit of their Projects, on the 21ſt of *July*, 1528, their Ambaſſadors in *Spain* deſired the Emperor's Leave to retire; and the next Day *Clarencieux* and *Guienne*, Heralds, the one of *England* and the other of *France*, arrived there, when they demanded an Audience of the Emperor, which was granted, and his Imperial Maſteſty with great Solemnity was ſeated on his Throne, attended

attended by all his Grandees : Then the Heralds, after they had imparted the Cause of their coming to the Emperor's Court, concluded their Harangue with proclaiming War in the Name of their Masters. *Charles* answered each particularly, but in a very different Manner ; in speaking to the *English* Herald he made use of civil and honourable Terms, denoting that he was not at all pleased at having the King his Master for an Enemy, and complaining that *Henry* had used him ill, in designing to give him in Marriage a Princess whom he had purposed to bastardize, since he was suing to be divorced from the Queen ; (concerning which Matter we shall speak hereafter) nor did he spare Cardinal *Wolsey*, as he could not carry his Point in corrupting him, he now charged him with being one of the principal Causes of the intended Rupture.

In his Answer to the *French* Herald he spoke not with that Regard and Caution, telling him, " That his Master had done falsely and basely, as he had told the Ambassadors at *Granada*, bidding him know of his Master, whether his Ambassador had acquainted him therewith." After the Audience was over the *French* Herald attended his Master's Ambassador, and related to him what passed ; upon this the Ambassador wrote a Letter to the Emperor, desiring his Imperial Majesty to give him the Words in Writing under his Hand, which the Emperor accordingly did, and they were sent to the King of *France*, who was so exasperated thereat, that he sent his King at Arms back into *Spain* with an Answer, who, being introduced to his Imperial Majesty, delivered it into his Hands. This contained a written Challenge, wherein the King of *France* gave the Emperor the Lie, and demanded the Field of Battle to fight him Hand to Hand. Then *Guienne* retired from the Emperor's Presence ; but, returning again, he, before the Emperor's Face, delivered another Writing to his Secretary, which contained a Vindication
of

of his Master's Proceedings, who charged all the Blame of the War on the Emperor.

The Herald having executed his Commission, a Paper was offered him to be carried to his Master, which *Guienne* refused, saying, "He had Orders to receive none unless it were the Emperor's Security for the Field of Battle." Then the Emperor replied, "He would not refuse the Combat, but it belonged not to the King of *France* to prescribe him Laws; and therefore he would send an Answer by his own King at Arms." This said, he dismissed *Guienne*, who was safely conducted back to the Frontiers, and generously treated, as he owned himself.

The Emperor, as soon as the *French* Herald was set out for *France*, ordered *Burgundy*, his King at Arms, with all possible Speed to repair to the Presence of King *Francis*, and deliver him a Writing, wherein he charged that King again with his Breach of Faith, and appointed the Middle of the River, which parts *Spain* and *France*, where the King was exchanged for his two Sons, as the fittest Place for their Combat; the Weapons to be fixed, and Security on both Sides given, when they were nearer together; besides this, *Burgundy* was charged with a Paper, in Answer to that delivered by *Guienne* to his Imperial Majesty's Secretary, which he was to deliver to the *French* Secretary, containing both Justifications and Recriminations. *Burgundy* waited at *Fuenterabia* 50 Days for his Safe-conduct, but, having received it, set forwards and came to *Estampes*, about 14 Leagues from *Paris*, on the 2d of *September*, and was there met by *Guienne*, King at Arms, who told him, "The King was then abroad a hunting," and conducted him towards *Paris*, but would not suffer him to go thither till the 9th of *September*; at last he was introduced to the King, who would not allow him to speak or read the Emperor's Answer, but still pressed for the Security

Security of the Combat, which *Burgundy* offered to produce; however, his Majesty refused to hear what he had to say, but left him, and, though the Herald endeavoured after that to obtain another Audience, the King denied it, on which he returned into *Spain*. *Burgundy* having made his Report before the Council of *Castile*, it was there resolved, That the Emperor had done as became a Prince and a Gentleman, and therefore was not obliged to take any further Notice of the Challenge, since the King of *France* had not acted as became him, but refused to hear the King at Arms, who carried the Security he demanded, and an Answer to all his Papers; and Copies of the whole Proceedings were sent by the Emperor, together with his Letters and the Resolution of the Council of *Castile*, to all the Grandees, Prelates, and Cities of *Spain*, to acquaint them with the Fairness of his Majesty's Steps.

By what has been said the Reader may judge which of them refused the Combat; however, they never met in Person on that Account, but left it to their Armies, who fought their Quarrel with the utmost Bravery; and when each Side was tired they clapt up a Peace, as will be seen in the Sequel.

This Year the Emperor's Son, *Philip*, was sworn Heir of *Castile*, and his other Son, Prince *John*, died, which was a very great Grief to his Imperial Majesty.

Hear laborious *Rapin*, upon what passed in *Spain*.
 “ *Hugo de Mondosa*, the Emperor's Ambassador at
 “ *London*, hearing what had passed in *Spain*, would
 “ have retired, but Cardinal *Wolsey* told him, that *Clarencieux*
 “ had exceeded his Instruction in proclaiming
 “ War against the Emperor, and should be punished
 “ at his Return. Whereupon the Ambassador sent an
 “ Express to inform the Emperor, what the Cardinal
 “ said; *Clarencieux*, who was still in *Spain*, surprized
 “ he should be made accountable for what he had
 “ express Orders, demanded and obtained an authentic
 “ Copy of the Ambassador's Letter. Upon his
 “ Arrival

“Arrival in *England* he waited on the King at *Hamp-*
 “*ton-court*, before he spoke with the Cardinal, and
 “shewed him the Letter, with three others, writ with
 “the Cardinal’s own Hand, whereby he gave him
 “exprefs Orders to declare War against the Empe-
 “ror. *Henry*, astonished at his Minister’s Presumption,
 “fell into a great Passion with him before the whole
 “Court; nay, he would perhaps have intirely disgraced
 “him, had he not been withheld by the Consideration
 “of the Affair of the Divorce, where he could not
 “proceed without him: He made him, however, un-
 “dergo a terrible Mortification by causing this Affair
 “to be examined in Council. This Enquiry would
 “doubtless have proved fatal to the Minister, if the
 “King had been pleased to pursue it, but he was con-
 “tented with the Cardinal’s Protestation, that he
 “thought he had acted agreeable to his Majesty’s In-
 “tentions.”

Now, can we reasonably believe, that if *Wolsey* had
 given any such Directions, without his Master’s exprefs
 Command, it would not have been a Charge against
 him on his Disgrace? But we do not find that to be
 the Case; therefore it is to be presumed, that what
Rapin has related is a Fiction of his own.

Rapin in his next Paragraph observes, “That the
 “Emperor’s Answer to *Clarencieux* being made pub-
 “lick in *England*, by the Ambassador’s Means, *Wolsey*
 “was afraid it would cause ill Effects among the Peo-
 “ple, considering the Weakness of the Motive the
 “King had for undertaking the War.”*

“For this Reason *Wolsey* assembled in the *Star-*
 “*Chamber* all the great Lords then in Court, to whom
 “he made a Speech, aggravating as much as possible
 “the Injuries the King had received from the Empe-
 “ror, and his Reasons to demand Satisfaction by
 “Arms;

* Though he before insisted, ‘son to take Part with *France*.’
 ‘That the King had good Rea- See our III^d Vol. fol. 392.

“ Arms ; but, let him say what he could, though
 “ every one outwardly apprehended him, what the
 “ Emperor said to the Herald made deeper Impres-
 “ sion than all the Arguments the Minister could
 “ alledge. The People openly exclaimed against a
 “ War, which was going to ruin the Kingdom, * to
 “ gratify the Favourite’s Passion. Nay, some went
 “ further than Murmurs ; as the Trade in the *Low*
 “ *Countries* was interrupted by the Declaration of War,
 “ and the Merchants would buy no more Cloth than
 “ they could vend, the Clothiers rise in Arms ; where-
 “ upon the Cardinal ordered the Merchants to buy
 “ the Cloth as usual, threatening in Case of Refusal,
 “ to buy them himself, and sell them to the Fo-
 “ reigners : But they made a Jest of this Threat,
 “ and continued obstinate, resolving not to render
 “ themselves liable to an inevitable Loss for his
 “ Sake. †

“ An Embassy from the Governess of the *Low*
 “ *Countries* to the King, whilst these Things were in
 “ Agitation, freed the Cardinal from his Embarras-
 “ ment ; the Ambassadors acquainting him, that, if
 “ the King pleased to accept of a Truce, the Gover-
 “ ness would readily agree to it. This Overture be-
 “ ing debated in Council, it was resolved, notwith-
 “ standing the *French* Ambassador’s Opposition, to
 “ agree to a Truce for eight Months, which was sign-
 “ ed the 8th of *June*.”

Pope

* Was it to ruin the Kingdom to endeavour to secure the Balance of Power, by taking Measures to prevent the Emperor’s becoming too great, as he before asserted? See our III^d Vol. fol. 392.

† No Authority for this ; and the Reader may easily perceive, that this was calculated to render

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Wolsey’s Name odious to Posterity among the Merchants and the trading Part of the Nation, by gaining which he very well knew he should get the Majority on his Side. Whereas nothing is more manifest, than that no Minister was a greater Encourager of Trade than *Wolsey*. But pray observe how Monsieur comes off at last.

X

*Affairs of
Italy.*

1528.

Pope Clement had lost *Florence, Parma, Reggio, and Rome* itself, with the best Part of the *Ecclesiastical State*, seen himself drained of his Treasure, and a Captive not hastily to be ransomed; which was sufficient to make him seriously reflect on his past Conduct, and take another Course.

The Ambassadors of *England, France, and Venice*, as soon as they found him secure at *Orvieto*, pressed him to declare against the Emperor; but he, having learnt by sad Experience, that he had been the Dupe of his Allies, was resolved to be no longer guided by their interested Councils, and told them, "That his joining in the League would draw upon him fresh Mischiefs, without procuring them any Advantage: That it was necessary, for the Benefit of *Christendom*, there should be a Mediator to procure Peace; and that was all he could do in the State he was reduced to." Nevertheless he intimated, "That he might take other Measures, if *Lautrec* prevailed on the Emperor's Troops to abandon *Rome*." And this indeed was his sole Aim.

*Lautrec sets
out for Naples.*

Now *Lautrec* begun to act again; for he departed from *Bologna* the 9th of *Jan.* and took the Road to *Naples*, having first sent Prince *Vandemont* to the Pope to press him to declare; but *Clement* found Means to excuse himself, without giving him a positive Denial; because, seeing all *Europe* in Motion, he was willing to wait the Event of the War, before he declared on either Side, which obliged him to use many Artifices not to displease one Party more than the other. If he had taken this Precaution at first, he might have sold his Favours almost at any Rate. Though *Lautrec* could not get a direct Answer from the Pope he pursued his March, and arrived on the Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples* the 10th of *February*, being longer on his Way than he had need, if he had been supplied with Money; for the King of *France* served

served him as before, in neglecting to send what he had promised.

Lautrec, when he quitted his Quarters in the *Bolognese*, had an Army of 28,000 Infantry, excellent Troops, besides Gendarmery and Light Horse ; and had no more to do, but to run through the Kingdom of *Naples* to conquer it. However, his March had this Effect, the Prince of *Orange*, though with Difficulty, got the *Imperialists* to quit *Rome*, and march to the Succour of *Naples*, but they were in no Condition to oppose the *French* in the Field. Thus *Rome* was delivered from the Plague of military Ravagers, who had for ten Months exercised all Sort of Rapine and Violence ; and the Remembrance of these Cruelties, in all Probability, remains with the Citizens to this Day. However, the Marshal used all his Efforts to bring his Enemy to a Battle ; but General *Alarcon*, who commanded the *Spanish* Troops, avoided it ; which being the Case, the Towns, as *Lautrec* marched on, opened their Gates to him, insomuch that *Moncada*, who was now become Vice-roy of *Naples*, finding himself not able to keep the Field, thought of nothing but defending the Capitol and *Guietta* ; whereupon he entered *Naples* with the Prince of *Orange*, and left the Defence of the latter Place to *Alarcon*, who took Possession of it. In short, the *French* Army met with no Resistance till they came before *Naples*, which, according to *Guicciardin*, was *April* the 29th.

The taking this Capitol would have been a decisive Stroke, but the Vice-roy had brought into the Town with him 10,000 of his best Troops, so that the Garrison was very numerous, which caused *Lautrec* to hold a Council of War, wherein it came to be debated, Whether the *French* should block it up, or immediately attack the Place ? The latter was resolved on ; and in the mean time *Philippino Doria*, Nephew to the famous *Andrew Doria*, undertook with his Gal-

lies to block it up, by Sea, which made *Lautrec* apprehend he should not be long before he starved the Garrison out.

These Schemes were immediately put in Execution, whereby the Besieged soon became in want of Provisions, which they could not obtain unless the Sea was open. To effect this the Vice-roy, understanding *Doria* began to be very remiss in his Charge, thought to have surprized him, and that he had found a favourable Opportunity for it, which put him upon privately equipping all his Gallies, embarking himself with the choicest of his Garrison, and sailing towards *Doria*.

But Marshal *Lautrec*, having been acquainted with this Design, timely apprized him of it, and sent him some Troops. The *Imperialists* found *Doria* well prepared; however, a bloody Battle ensued, the *Neapolitans* were defeated, the Vice-roy killed, and the Marquis *del Vasto* taken Prisoner.

This Defeat struck *Naples* with such a Consternation, that the Prince of *Orange* had a great deal of Difficulty to keep up their Spirits; for, by the Death of the Vice-roy, the Defence of the Place devolved upon him, who behaved himself with all possible Courage and Conduct, frequently making brisk Sallies; notwithstanding this he must have sunk, Scarcity and the Plague making great Havock in the Garrison, if the Besiegers had been able to have continued the Blockade; but their Condition was now worse than the Besieged, for the Plague had got among them too, being brought into the Camp by some People from *Naples*, which increased to such a Degree, that, before the End of *July*, above 20,000 Soldiers were carried off, whereby there was not left above 4000 fighting Men; and *Lautrec* also was seized with a contagious Disease, that made him incapable of giving the necessary Orders for carrying on the Siege, which the Prince of *Orange* understanding, he wearied the Besiegers

siegers with frequent Sallies, so that at last the Convoys passed unmolested into the Town. But what compleated the Overthrow of the Siege was the Treachery of *Andrew Doria*, who, under Pretence of being disobliged by *France*, went over to the Emperor, and recalled his Nephew from before *Naples*, whereby the Port was immediately freed, and Provisions in Plenty was brought into the City both by Sea and Land.

Marshal *Lautrec* in the mean time, who had partly recovered, relapsed and died in the Night between the 15th and 16th of *August*, * through

* Father *Daniel* says, "*Lautrec* was one of the best Officers that was in *France*, but his Haughtiness, Pride and Presumption, rendered him incapable of hearkening to Advice; Faults which made him commit very great Mistakes in several of his Expeditions." — *Brantome* relates, "That *Lautrec* was charged with the Loss of *Milan* in the Battle of *Bicoque*, and blamed for yielding to the Instances of the *Swiss*, to fight on that Occasion." It was also said, "That several Remonstrances against him were sent from *Milan* to the King, setting forth, that, though he was a good Officer, yet very improper for such a Government: But that *Madam de Chateaubriant*, *Lautrec's* Sister, and a most beautiful and polite Lady, for whom the King had a very great Regard, softened all those Complaints, and always preserved her Brother in the King's good Graces, which gave Birth to a Proverb in that Time, *That Milan had raised Meullan, and Chateaubriant lost Milan*;" which alludes to a famous Seat so called,

built by *Chaumont*, out of the Spoils of *Milan* in *Burgundy*, and the King's overlooking *Lautrec's* Faults while Governor of that Dutchy, through the Interposition of his Mistress.

Virtue, though often traversed, is still in Vogue and sought after; for *Lautrec* having, after his Return from *Italy*, retired into *Guienne*, some time afterwards was sent for to Court, received into Favour more than ever, and made Lieutenant General of the grand League concluded against the Emperor. He was sent on an Expedition against *Naples*, which he chearfully undertook, and in his March took *Bosco*, *Alexandria*, and *Pavia*. In *Pavia* he was rather cruel to revenge the Outrage and Taking of *Francis*, and the Death and Defeat of so many brave *Frenchmen*, who had met with their tragical Fates under her Walls; for which Reason he would not enter that City at any of the Gates, but at the Breach on Horse-back, to shew thereby a more absolute Triumph.

Lautrec, having performed several grand military Exploits in *Lombardy*, was ready to invest *Milan*,

through the extraordinary Fatigue he was instantly obliged to undergo, by *Doria's* deserting the *French* Service. Sir

Milan, to repair his past Fault, when he received the King's Orders to march directly to *Naples*. He arrived at that fatal Place for him, (as *Ravenna* had been for *Nemours*, his Cousin) upon the Point of a most glorious Victory, if he had pleased: But, as the *Neapolitans* say, *Fortune is not to be caught by the Locks*; which he neglected, when he might have had it by Hand-fulls, through his own Presumption, who would listen to no Advice, and refused to assault or batter the Towns, contrary to the concurrent Opinions of all his Officers, saying, 'That he would not consume his Ammunition to no Purpose, which should serve him well elsewhere; and that he knew he must soon have all the Garrison, with their Necks in Halibuts, by Famine and a long Siege.' But it happened quite otherwise, as we have already related. When *Lautrec* was confined to his Bed, he frequently asked of the Officers and Physicians, who visited him, *What State of Health the Camp was in?* who constantly replied, 'That all grew better and better, for the Infection daily diminished.' But he, suspecting their Answers proceeded more from Complaisance to him than Regard to Truth, threatened one Day to have two of his Pages severely punished, if they did not inform him of the true Condition the Army was in; then they declared, *That the Camp was destroyed, and that scarce any escaped the Sickness*: At which *Lau-*

trec was so shocked, that his Gall and Heart broke, which put an End to his Days. However, he died with so much Glory, that the Pope caused solemn Obsequies, in a most pompous Manner, to be performed for him; and the King his Master caused a funeral Service to be performed for him in the Church of *Notre Dame* at *Paris*, with the same Grandeur and Magnificence as if he were his own Child, or some grand Prince of the Blood: But the Office performed for him by the *Spaniard*, his Enemy, exceeded all this a hundred Degrees, by erecting a Superb Marble Tomb for his poor Bones, which must have been tumbled and tossed in a miserable Vault, where his People had buried him without any funeral Pomp, and as if he had been the most private Centinel of his Time. The Tomb appears still in excellent good Condition, in the Duke of *Sessa's* Chapel, in the new Church of *St. Mary*, at *Naples*; the Epitaph on which is as follows:

TO ODETO FOIX LAUTREC
GONSALVO FERDINANDO.

*The Son of Lewis de Cordova,
And Nephew to the Great GON-*
SALVO.

The *Spanish* Grandee, finding this Warrior's Bones, though an Enemy, lie without that Honour due to them, and to which the Fortune of War had brought him, and mindful of human Miseries, has bestowed this Tomb on the *French* General in the Chapel of his Forefathers.

Sir Robert *Jerningham*, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber both to King *Henry* and *Francis*, who had the Command of 200 Horse in the Army, paid by our King, died of the Plague, as did *John Carew*, who succeeded him, the *Sweating Sicknes* being all this Summer in *England*, whereof also died Sir *Francis Poyntz*, *William Compton*, Esq; and others of Note.

Lautrec's Death was followed with raising the Siege of *Naples*, and the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, to whom the Command of the Army devolved, retreated in good Order and retired to *Aversa*, where he was besieged, being wounded with a Blow from a Stone that broke his Knees, which so discouraged the Soldiers, that they obliged him to surrender on a dishonourable Capitulation; for the Marquis submitted to be a Prisoner of War; but the *French* Officers and Soldiers had leave to go into *France*, upon leaving their Colours and Standards behind them: Terrible Terms for Men of real Blood! The *Swiss*, by one of the Articles, were to return Home: The *Italians*, by another Article, were obliged not to serve against the Emperor for six Months; and the Marquis was also to do all that lay in his Power to oblige the Governors of the Places, taken either by the *French* or the Allies, to deliver them up, but most of them refused to stand to this Capitulation.

Naples was no sooner lost but *Genoa* followed, *Andrew Doria*, who was very powerful in that City, made it revolt. Marshal *Theodore Trivulca* retired into the Castle with some Soldiers, but was obliged to surrender about the End of *October* for want of Provisions: Whereupon *Doria*, pursuant to his Agreement with the Emperor, restored his Country to Liberty, and established the Government, which subsists at this Day. *Savona* was also delivered up thro' the Cowardice of Governor *Moreta*.

The *French* were no less unfortunate in the *Milanes*, for *Anthony Leyva* surprized *Pavia* and other Places,

Places, but was obliged to raise the Siege of *Lodi*, through the vigorous Resistance of *John Paul Sforza*, bastard Brother to the Duke of *Milan*.

The Count of *St. Pol*, being come up with a Reinforcement from *France*, and joined by the *Venetian* Army, retook *Pavia*, and made himself Master of *Como*; and with this the Campaign ended in the *Milanese*.

“ So fatal a War, says Father *Daniel*, the Advan-
 “ tages and Disadvantages of which were not yet great
 “ enough on either Side to secure the Event, be-
 “ gun to tire both the Emperor and *France*, and
 “ make them hearken to peaceable Councils, which
 “ *Margaret* of *Austria* gave the Emperor, her Ne-
 “ phew; and the Princess Regent, on the other hand,
 “ the King, her Son.” Whereupon they both signi-
 fied their Inclinations to the Pope by their Envoys, in
 the beginning of the following Year, 1529, and had
 this Effect, that the City of *Cambray* was pitched upon
 for the Conferences which were agreed to be nego-
 tiated by the above Princesses, and to begin at the End
 of *May*; but, before these Ladies met, the War was
 carried on in *Italy*, and *Anthony Leyva* attacked the
 Count of *St. Pol* in the *Milanese*, routed his Forces,
 and took him Prisoner. The Remainder of the *French*
 that were at *Pavia*, hearing the News, deserted in
 whole Companies, so that there was scarce any *French*
 left in the *Milanese*; and thus ended this new Expedi-
 tion into *Italy*, which, one would think, should have
 been a sufficient *Memento* to prevent them from sending
 Troops thither, that has generally proved fatal to them,
 and not improperly called, *The Grave of the French-*
men.

Congress at
 Cambray.
 1529. In July the two Princesses repaired to *Cam-*
bray, as did Dr. *Tunstal*, Bishop of *Durham*, and
 Sir *Thomas More*, on King *Henry's* Behalf, and
 on the 5th of *August* a Treaty of Peace was concluded
 between the Emperor and *France*, in which *England* was
 included,

included, called the *Lady's Peace*, the Substance whereof follows.

“ That the Emperor should desist from
 “ his present Demands on *Burgundy*, with-
 “ out prejudicing any Right he might
 “ claim to that Dutchy by Course of Law. That the
 “ Crown of *France* should pay him two Millions of
 “ Crowns of Gold, for the Ransom of *Francis's* Sons,
 “ and withdraw his Forces out of *Italy*. That he should
 “ resign to the Emperor the Sovereignty of *Flanders* and
 “ *Artois*. That he should restore to the Emperor the
 “ Earldom of *Esti*, with whatever he held in the
 “ Dutchy of *Milan*. That he should renounce all
 “ his Pretentions to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and
 “ marry *Eleanora*, with whom the Emperor should
 “ give him in Dower 200,000 Crowns.”

Treaty of Cam-
bray.

1529.

There was also several other Articles, particularly,
 “ *Francis* promised to restore the Heirs of the late
 “ Duke of *Bourbon* to all that Prince possessed in
 “ *France*.” And also “ That the King of *France*
 “ should pay the 200,000 Crowns due from the Em-
 “ peror to *England* by Instalment, and redeem the
 “ rich Flower-de-Luce, pawned to *Henry* the VIIth
 “ for 50,000 Crowns.”

But there was no mention of the *Venetians*, who were Allies of *France*, save that *Francis* undertook to require the *Venetians* to yield to the Emperor what they possessed in the Kingdom of *Naples*. This made a *Venetian* Nobleman tell the Doge, That the City of *Cambray* was the Purgatory of the *Venetians*; alluding not only to this Treaty, but that which was formed to ruin them, as before mentioned.

The Pope had before made his Peace with the Emperor, upon as advantageous Conditions as if that Prince had had the worst of the War in *Italy*: And his Holiness's Aim was not only to be restored to *Florence*, but to other Places taken by the *Venetians* during his Captivity. But, whilst he was forming these Projects,

he was taken ill of so violent a Distemper, that his Physicians suspected he was poisoned.

Wolsey tries a 3d time for the Papacy. Cardinal *Wolsey*, having notice of the Pope's dangerous Illness, dispatched an Express to *Gardiner*, with full Instructions how to conduct himself, and not to neglect any thing that he thought capable of procuring him the Papacy. *Henry* himself also writ to several Cardinals in his Behalf; and the King of *France*, who was not yet secure of a Peace, had given him all those of his Faction; and it is affirmed, that *Wolsey* would have been sure of a third of the Votes, in case the Pope had died, which, though not sufficient to make him Pope, was enough to hinder any other from being so.

The two Letters * subjoined are the Substance of some of the Arguments made use of by Cardinal *Wolsey*, in

WOLSEY'S Letter to GARDINER.

Mr. Stephen,

ALBEIT ye shall be sufficiently with your Colleagues, by such Instructions as be given to Monsieur *Vincent*, informed of the King's Mind and mine concerning my Advancement unto the Dignity Papal, not doubting but that, for the singular Devotion which you bear towards the King and his Affairs, both general and particular, and perfect Love which ye have toward me, ye will omit nothing that may be excogitate to serve and conduce to that Purpose; yet I thought convenient, for the more fervent Expression of my mind in that Behalf, to write unto you, as to the Person whom I do most entirely trust, and by whom this Thing shall be most pithily set forth, these

few Words following of mine own Hand. I doubt not but ye do profoundly consider as well the State wherein the Church and all *Christendom* doth stand now presently, as also the State of this Realm and the King's secret Matter; which, if it should be brought to pass by any other Means than by the Authority of the Church, I account this Prince and Realm utterly undone; and that it shall be now incommodious in this mine old Age to be the said common Father; yet when all things be well considered, and the Qualities of all the Cardinals well considered, (*absit verbum jactante*) there shall be none found that can and will set Remedy in the aforesaid thing, but only the Cardinal of *York*, whose Good-will and Zeal is not to you of all Men unknown: And were it not

in order to get himself elected Pope, on the Demise of *Clement* the VIIth.

Y 2

The

‘ not Reintegration of the State
‘ and See Apostolick to the pri-
‘ stine Dignity, and for the con-
‘ ducing of Peace among *Chri-*
‘ *stian* Princes, and especially to
‘ relieve this Prince and Realm
‘ from the Calamity that the
‘ same be now in, all the Riches
‘ or Honour in the World should
‘ not cause me (*nedum aspirare,*
‘ *sed ne consentire*) to accept the
‘ same Dignity, although the
‘ same with all Commodities
‘ were offered unto me.

‘ Nevertheless conforming my
‘ self to the Necessity of the Time,
‘ and the Will and Pleasure of
‘ these two Princes, I am con-
‘ tent to approve all my Wit and
‘ Study, and to set forth all
‘ Means and Ways (*ut benefa-*
‘ *ciam rebus Christianitatis*) for
‘ the attaining the said Dignity ;
‘ for the atchieving and attaining
‘ whereof, for as much as there-
‘ upon dependeth the Healths
‘ and Wealth not only of these
‘ two Princes and their Realms,
‘ but of all *Christendom*, no-
‘ thing is to be omitted that may
‘ conduce to the said End and
‘ Purpose. Wherefore, Master
‘ *Stephen*, since you be so plainly
‘ advertised of my Mind and In-
‘ tent, I shall pray you to ex-
‘ tend all the Force of your Elo-
‘ quence, that Matters may be
‘ brought to this Issue, without
‘ sparing any Cost, Promises, or
‘ Labour, agreeable to the In-
‘ clinations, or Taste of those
‘ Persons you shall treat with,
‘ and whether publick or pri-
‘ vate, to square your Actions

‘ for that Purpose, you and
‘ your Colleagues do not want
‘ ample Powers, limited by no
‘ Bounds, Conditions, or Re-
‘ strictions ; and whatever you
‘ transact, I would have you
‘ know, will be agreeable and
‘ acceptable to the King and
‘ me ; for, to speak briefly, we
‘ repose all in your Address and
‘ Fidelity. I have nothing else
‘ to add but humbly to pray the
‘ great and good God to assist
‘ you in all your Proceedings.
‘ Cordially farewell.

‘ From our House at Westminster,
‘ 7th February.

‘ T. of YORK.’

*The Cardinal's Letter to Sir Gre-
gory Cassali, Knight, and Mr.
Peter Vannes, the most serene
King of England and France's
Ambassadors in the Court of
Rome.*

‘ Sir Gregory, and Mr. Peter
‘ Vannes, Health :

‘ **A**S nothing could be more
‘ unseasonable to the *Chri-*
‘ *stian* Commonwealth, but par-
‘ ticularly to the Affairs of
‘ the King's Majesty, than the
‘ Death of his Holiness, I there-
‘ fore am of Opinion, that it can
‘ be no Secret to you of what
‘ Danger and Hazard the Choice
‘ of a future Pope may prove to
‘ the most serene King's Health,
‘ Honour, and the Repose of his
‘ Kingdom, and how much you
‘ are to endeavour, and with your
‘ Care, Diligence and Industry,
‘ to

The King likewise sent Instructions to his Ambassadors and others at *Rome*, upon this Occasion, which were couched as under mentioned*: But, before they could

‘ to withstand and oppose, lest
 ‘ any one should be elected Pon-
 ‘ tiff, and not in the Interest of
 ‘ his Majesty. What you are
 ‘ to act and do, with respect to
 ‘ my Promotion, I have briefly
 ‘ summed up for you in my com-
 ‘ mon Letters; neither shall I
 ‘ add any thing more on that
 ‘ Head in this, which I have been
 ‘ induced to write to you for no
 ‘ other Reason than to let you
 ‘ know, that I commit and trust
 ‘ this most mighty, and chiefest
 ‘ of all Affairs, which you are to
 ‘ manage, to your Prudence, Fi-
 ‘ delity and Address, which, by
 ‘ long Experience, I am per-
 ‘ fectly acquainted with; and I
 ‘ hope that you will answer the
 ‘ Expectation and Opinion I
 ‘ have conceived of you. Fare
 ‘ ye well. *London, February 6th,*
 ‘ 1528.

‘ *Your most loving Brother,*

‘ *T. Cardinal, of York.*’

* The King on that Head among other Things saith, ‘ That
 ‘ he hath, by good and mature
 ‘ Deliberation, studied, devised,
 ‘ and excogitated with himself,
 ‘ who were and might be the
 ‘ most able, mete, and conve-
 ‘ nient Person, having the Quali-
 ‘ ties before specified, to be ad-
 ‘ vanced at this Time unto the
 ‘ said Dignity Papal; and final-
 ‘ ly, when his Grace hath well
 ‘ revolved with himself all the
 ‘ Respects and Considerations a-
 ‘ fore said, and all Things mete

‘ to be regarded to every of the
 ‘ Cardinals of the Church of
 ‘ *Rome*, both present now in the
 ‘ Court there, and absent from
 ‘ the same, it cannot be found
 ‘ that there is any Person suffi-
 ‘ ciently furnished with the Re-
 ‘ quisites before specified, but
 ‘ only the most Reverend Father
 ‘ in God, and his most trusty
 ‘ Counsellor, the Lord Legate,
 ‘ Cardinal, Archbishop of *York*,
 ‘ Primate and Chancellor of this
 ‘ Realm, who being well known
 ‘ to have a fervent Zeal, steady
 ‘ Mind, and Desire to the uni-
 ‘ versal Weal, Repose, and Tran-
 ‘ quillity of *Christendom*, to the
 ‘ Reintegration and Restoration
 ‘ of the Dignity, Authority,
 ‘ Reputation, and Right of the
 ‘ Church and See Apostolick; to
 ‘ the Surety, Weal, and Exalta-
 ‘ tion of the King’s Highness, the
 ‘ *French* King, and other Confe-
 ‘ derates; and, finally, to the Per-
 ‘ fection of the King’s said great
 ‘ and weighty Cause, whereup-
 ‘ on dependeth the Surety of
 ‘ his Royal Person, Succession,
 ‘ Realm, People, and Domi-
 ‘ nions, as any Person living can
 ‘ or may have: And that the
 ‘ said most Rev. Father hath the
 ‘ fast assured Favour herein of
 ‘ the said *French* King, who, of
 ‘ his own meer Motion, hath
 ‘ frankly and liberally offer-
 ‘ ed all that by himself, his
 ‘ Friends, his Power, his Agents,
 ‘ or otherwise he may or can
 ‘ possibly do, for his Advance-
 ‘ ment to the said Dignity Papal,

‘ is

could be well put in Execution, the Pope unexpectedly recovered, on which *Wolsey's* Hopes were again frustrated.

The *French* Princes, Prisoners in *Spain*, were first delivered to the Custody of the Constable of *Castile*, and kept at *Vallalpando*, where their *French* Servants were taken from them; then they were carried to the Fortrefs of *Pedraza de la Sierra*; how-

The Treatment the French Princes met with in Spain.
1530.

ever, in *November*, the Emperor sent Orders to allow their Preceptor to have Access to them, in the Presence of some trusty Person; because before this a Letter, from
one

is the Person, who, for his singular Virtue, his entire Devotion to Peace, and Restoration of the said See, the Excellency of his Wisdom, Learning, and Experience, the Magnanimity in his Actions and Doings, the Dignity wherein he is already constituted, the Promotion which he hath obtained, the Substance that he is of, his Reputation, his Conduct, his Diligence, his Dexterity, his Discretion, his Policy, and, finally, the notable and high Favour that the King's Highness and the said *French* King bear unto him, is only he; that he, being called unto the said Dignity Papal, may, can, and will meet with the inordinate Ambition of the said Emperor, and consequently with the Establishment of Tranquillity among *Christian* Princes; and is, by the Assistance of his Friends, mete, convenient, and able to succour, retrieve, and clearly to repair the piteous Jacture and Decay that the

Church and See Apostolick hath so long suffered, and to defend the same from the imminent Danger now apparent to ensue, if the said Emperor, who, as the King's Highness is ascertained, is determined, in the beginning of *January*, to take his Journey towards *Rome*, should, upon this Vacation of the said See chanced, as is, upon many evident Presumptions, to be thought, by some detestable Act committed for the said late Pope's Destruction, now, by Force, Violence, Cautele, Blandishing, Promises, or otherwise, have the Election to proceed at his Will, Favour and Devotion, whereby, having a Pope at his Arbitrate, either he should not fail to usurp and take from him the Right, Title, and Patrimonies of the Church, using him as his Chaplain and Vassal, or else by little and little utterly to exclude and extinguish him and his Authority for ever."

one of their Servants to the King of *France*, had been intercepted, complaining of the Princes hard Usage, and imploring his Compassion, to exchange them for others of the Emperor's Subjects. Then they were removed to *Berlanga*, and thence again to *Pedraza de la Sierra*; being always maintained at the Charge of the Constable and his Brother, for which, as the *Spanish* Writers say, neither the Emperor nor the King of *France*, ever made them any Satisfaction.

Upon the Treaty of Peace being set on Foot, between *France* and the Emperor, the King's Mother obtained a Pass for a Gentleman to visit the Children, and see what Condition they were in. This Messenger, after a long Relation of his Journey, says, "He found the Princes in a Room that had
 " but little Light, without any Hangings; that
 " they sat on Stone-seats made in the Wall, at a
 " Window secured within and without with strong
 " Iron Bars; the Walls were eight Foot thick, and the
 " Window so high they could scarce see the Sky;
 " that their Cloaths were very mean and old; and
 " that they had forgot their *French*;" besides mentioning many other Circumstances to shew how hardly they were used.

But, after the Peace was proclaimed, the Empress, at the request of Queen *Eleanor*, ordered the *French* Servants to be restored to the two Princes; that they should be permitted the Liberty of the Town; caused them to be well cloathed, and their Lodgings handsomely furnished.

The Marshal *de Montmorency*, then in high Station, was pitched upon to go and receive the two Princes and Queen *Eleanor* on the Frontiers of *Spain*; and, though he was at *Bayonne* by the 10th of *March*, 1530, the Ransom was not paid, nor the Princes delivered, till towards the End of *June*. *

Francis,

* An Indication of much *Poverty* or great *Neglect*.

Francis, being advised of their Approaching, went from *Bordeaux* to meet his new Queen and Sons, and upon the Interview there was all the Joy that can be imagined. The next Morning, an Hour before Day, the King married Queen *Eleanor* ; soon after he caused her to be crowned Queen at *St. Dennis* ; and then she made a publick Entry into *Paris*. Thus the King of *France* was at last delivered from a War that had cost so much Money, in which so many valiant Men had suffered, and answered no other Purpose than *horrid Devastation* : And, to moralize a little, it is even astonishing to us, that the Multiplicity of Examples of the like Kind, as well in sacred as prophane Histories, throughout the different Periods of Time, have had no more Influence of late Years ; when, as is pretended, (not to mention *Religion*) as well our *Political* as *Oecumenical Reasoning* is so much refined, as to become *all Philosophy* : But, on the contrary, sorry we have any Room to say it, that dire *Ambition*, or Itch after *Destruction*, or Thirst for shedding *Blood*, seem but too much to be the Motives at this Day.

King Francis's Marriage.

Restores Learning, &c. in his Kingdom.

The first Use *Francis* made of this Peace, was to reform several Disorders that had crept in during the many Calamities attending his Kingdom : Next, in Imitation of the great Cardinal *Wolsey*, he applied himself earnestly to the reviving the *Sciences*, which for a long Time had been very much neglected. It was not after this, as it was before, a sort of Shame for a Gentleman to understand *Latin* ; and it is on this account, that the People of *France*, even at this Time, give *Francis* the glorious Title of *the Restorer of Learning*, which will, no doubt, be an Honour on him to the latest Posterity.

Whilst the King was thus employed, the Princess, his Mother, died, who was a Lady of a great Genius
for

for managing the State. “ However, though the
 “ Historians of *Savoy*, says a *French* Writer, give
 “ her a great Character, yet, when the People of
 “ *France* reflect on what Troubles she caused in that
 “ Kingdom, her Memory will never be precious
 “ to them.”

Venetians sur-
 render all their
 Ports in Naples.
 The Emperor, the Beginning of the
 Year 1530, passed from *Barcelona* to
Genoa with an Army, which soon oblig-
 ed the *Venetians* to surrender to him
 the Ports they possessed in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The Emperor
 restores Milan to
 Duke Sforza.
 Next, at the Pope's Instance, he
 restored to Duke *Sforza* the Dutchy
 of *Milan*, upon Condition of his pay-
 ing him in Hand 400,000 Crowns,
 and 500,000 more in the Space of 10 Years, at
 different Times: And then the Emperor withdrew
 his Troops out of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

The Emperor
 reconciles the
 Duke of Ferrar-
 a and the Pope.
 The Emperor also, by the Duke of
Ferrara's Consent, undertook to recon-
 cile the Pope and him: So that there
 only remained the *Florentines*, who re-
 fused to agree with the Pope, without keeping his
 Family from the Possession of the Dutchy; therefore
 the Emperor ordered the Prince of *Orange* to be-
 siege *Florence*, and restore the *Medici*.

Florence be-
 sieged, and the
 Pr. of Orange
 killed.
 The Prince of *Orange* obeyed, and
 was killed in an Engagement by some
 of the Besieged, who sallied out of the
 Town, though they were beat back; yet
 the *Florentines* in general so desperately sustained the
 Siege, that they were reduced at last to eat Horses,
 Asses, Cats, and Dogs.

His Burial and
 Character.
 The Prince of *Orange's* Body was
 stript in the Field by a *Frenchman*, and
 when found, was wrapt in a Blanket and
 thrown cross an Horse, in order to be conveyed to his
 Inter-

Interment. He * was of the noble and antient Family of *Chaalon*, not above 30 Years of Age, but brave, generous, and well-beloved by the Soldiers, 2000 of which

* From this Prince that great Soldier, the late *William Henry*, Prince of *Orange* (who married the Princess *Mary*, eldest Daughter of the late unfortunate King *James* the II^d) was descended; whose martial Exploits against the *French*, in Defence of the Republick of *Holland*, before the *Revolution*, as also his Expedition into *England*, are so well known, that we need not repeat it here. But we shall just mention, that as Success attended the Prince's Designs upon his Arrival at *Windsor*, in his Way to *London*, he sent the Lord *Delamer*, together with the Marquis of *Halifax*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, on the 17th of *November*, 1688, with a Message to King *James*, commanding him to remove from *White-hall*, in order to give him Place, which Messengers (being introduced by the Earl of *Middleton*, Secretary of State) they delivered it at one of the Clock in the Morning to the King, who was then in Bed, with which that unhappy Monarch complied.

Mr. *Collins*, in his *British Peerage*, observes upon this Change, 'That it was a remarkable Instance of the Vicissitudes of Fortune, or rather the Appointment of an All-ruling Providence that that King, who had been a Spectator of the *Ld. Delamer's* standing at the Bar, upon a Trial for a pretended Charge of High Treason, where

' his Life and Fortune were at Stake, should, in less than three Years see that Lord come to his Bed-side, to bid him depart his own royal Palace: A warning to all to use their Prosperity in such Manner, as may best fit them for an unforeseen Adversity; remembering that on this Side the Grave, no Man can tell what is to befall him! And such was the Use this Lord made thereof, whatever Temptation it might be to him, to have there shewn an insulting Resentment, that he composed himself with so much Decency and Respect to that then unhappy Prince; and so sensible was that King of this Lord's Civility to him on this Occasion, that, after his Retirement into *France*, he said, *The Lord Delamer, whom he had used ill, had then treated him with much more Regard than the other two Lords, to whom he had been kind, and from whom he might better have expected it.*

In short, the Prince of *Orange's* Expedition had this Issue, that his Highness and the Princess, his Consort were declared, by Act of Parliament, King and Queen of *England*, &c. and both died possessed of these opulent Kingdoms; and that the former lived to see the Succession settled in his present Majesty's Line, as is before-mentioned in Vol. II. p. 272, 273.

which died with him, and as many on the Enemy's Side.

The Repulse the *Florentines* met with no way discouraged them, they continued eager for falling out upon the Besiegers; but *Baillon*, their Commander, opposing, they suspected he would betray them; which raised so great a Ferment, that a Senator was sent to depose him from his Command; whom *Baillon* instantly stabbed, and turned the Cannon of a Bastion against the City to defend himself. In much Confusion the Multitude ran from one Extream to another; for, whereas nothing would serve before but they must sally and die, now they cried to submit to the Emperor; *Baillon* was employed to treat with *Gonzaga*, who succeeded the Prince of *Orange* in the Command of the Army, and the Capitulation was agreed on the 10th of *August*; the principal Article whereof was,

The Emperor settles the Government of Florence.

“ That the Emperor should settle the Government of *Florence*. ” Accordingly his Imperial Majesty erected it into a Dukedom, and bestowed it on *Alexander de Medicis*, Nephew to the Pope, and the Heirs of his Body; (and, for want of such, to the nearest of Kin) who was immediately put into Possession of it, on the same Footing that his Ancestors had formerly been, the Sovereignty being made hereditary in his Family, which laid the Foundation of the great Figure the Grand Dukes of *Tuscany* afterwards made in the World; and, upon the Death of the last Duke of *Tuscany* of the House of *Medici*, his Royal Highness the Duke of *Lorain* was put into Possession, who is now Grand Duke of *Tuscany*.

Passes into Italy.

The Emperor was some Time in making Preparations for his Coronation, and, having settled the most necessary Affairs, departed for *Italy*, and soon arrived at *Placentia*, attended by a grand Retinue;

nue ; upon this the Pope repaired to *Bologna*. His Imperial Majesty, hearing the Pope was come thither, set out immediately from *Placentia* to meet him, and on his Arrival 24 Cardinals received him at the Entrance of *Bologna*, he being all in Armour, except his Head, and on each Side of him two Gentlemen on Horseback strewing Money all the Way. In this Order they went directly to the Cathedral, at the Gate whereof a Scaffold was erected ascending by Steps, on which sat the Cardinals and Prelates ; and at the Top, in his Chair of State, the Pope in his Pontifical Habit with the Tiara on his Head. The Emperor being come to the Scaffold, the Grandees of *Spain* came to help him to a-light, and two Cardinals from above conducted him up ; being come up to the Pope he fell on his Knees, and kissed his Foot ; but his Holiness lifted him up, and gave him the Kiss of Peace : Then his Majesty declared, “ He was now “ come, as he had long wished, into his Presence, “ to settle the Affairs of Religion, and begged that “ God would prosper his Intentions.” His Holiness replied, “ That he had desired nothing so much “ as that Meeting, for which he thanked Almighty “ God, and hoped all Things would have a happy “ Issue.” After some other Ceremonies they walked Hand in Hand to the Church-door ; when the Pope went into his Apartment, and the Emperor into the Church, whence he retired to his own Lodgings, in the same Palace with his Holiness, parted by only a thin Wall, in which was a private Door, so that they might commune by themselves : And thus they continued for some time, concerting Matters of great Moment.

Interview between the Pope and the Emperor.

It was at first debated, whether the Emperor should be crowned at *Rome* or *Bologna* ? *

Z 2

Place

* It was remarkable that no Emperor had been crowned in *Italy* since *Frederick's* Time, in the Year 1442.

Place being agreed on, his Coronation was fixt to be on his Birth-day, the Feast of *St. Matthias*, *February* the 24th, (which had been, as the Conceit was, on several Occasions, very fortunate to him) he then entring into the 31st Year of his Age. For this Purpose a Gallery was built, from the Pontiff's Palace to the Cathedral, for the Pope and the Emperor to march on without Interruption, which was most richly adorned. Two Days before the principal Ceremony, the Magistrates of *Monfa* brought the Iron Crown, which used to be put on at *Milan*, for the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, but was now set on his Head here: The next, which was the

The Emperor crowned.

Coronation with the Golden Crown, was with the greatest Ceremony and Solemnity that has been seen on any such Occasion. After the Emperor was got into the Cathedral the Gallery sunk, and many of the Guards fell through, who were much hurt, tho' only one *Flemish* Gentleman was killed. Some superstitious *Italians* said, *The breaking of the Gallery behind him portended, that the Way was cut off, and no more Emperors should be crowned in Italy.*

Holds a Diet at Augsburg.

The Emperor returned on the 22d of *March* to *Germany*, attended by Cardinal *Campeius*, who was to be Agent for the Pope at the Diet to be held at *Augsburg*; which was accordingly held, and ended, as others had, without any material Determination; but some *Protests* were entered, on the Behalf of the *Lutheran* Princes, against fundry Proceedings of the Diet, from whence all *Dissenters* from the *Roman Catholick Religion* were called PROTESTANTS, as they are at this Day.

The Emperor's Aunt, *Margaret*, Governess of the *Low Countries*, died in the Month of *November* at *Mecklin*, whose Character we leave the Reader to collect from the Accounts we have given of her in the foregoing History. And here we shall close the

the Year 1530, as to the Affairs of *France, Spain, Germany, and Italy*.*

But it may not be amiss to observe, that the famous *Guicciardin* commences his History of the Wars of *Italy*, with *Charles* the VIIIth's designed Expedition into *Italy*, in the Year 1590, and concludes with speaking of the Death of Pope *Clement* the VIIIth, that happened on the 25th of *Sept.* 1533; (which we have given the Substance of in the Course of our short *Memoirs*) and, on the Election of Pope *Paul* the IIIrd, he has these Words, "Touch-
" ing Pope *Paul*'s Actions and Operations, whether
" they answered the Expectations conceived of him, or
" whether they were worthy the incredible Gladness,
" which the People of *Rome* looked to have had, after the
" End of 130 Years, and after the Succession of 13
" Popes, and a Pope of Blood, by Nation a *Roman*, and
" of the Language, Education, and Familiarity with
" themselves, whom it standeth in Relation and Testi-
" mony

* As we shall speak nothing further of *Luther* or his Doctrines in particular, we shall just mention, that he continued to employ the Remainder of his Time in propagating his new Doctrine, and died on the 18th of *Feb.* 1546. *Bayle* says, 'A thousand Fables have been invented concerning his Death; nor did they forbear publishing of Falshoods upon this Subject after he had departed this Life. His greatest Enemies could not deny but that he had eminent Qualities; and History affords nothing more surprizing than what he has done. For a simple Monk to be able to give Popery so rude a Shock, that there needed but such another entirely to overthrow the *Romish* Church, is what we cannot sufficiently admire.'

Whilst the Troops of the Emperor *Charles* the Vth were quartered at *Wirtemberg*, in the Year 1547, a Soldier gave *Martin Luther*'s Effigy, in the Church of the Castle, two Stabs with a Dagger: The Emperor did a very generous Action at that Time; for he would not suffer *Luther*'s Tomb to be any way defaced or demolished, and he forbid the insulting any thing of that Nature, upon Pain of Death, which the *Spaniards* earnestly solicited; but the Emperor very nobly answered, 'I have nothing farther to do with *Luther*, he hath henceforth another Judge, whose Jurisdiction it is not lawful for me to usurp: Know that I make War not with the Dead, but with the Living, who still make War against me.'

“mony to write of the Accidents happening in *Italy*
 “since his Election; so is to be verified the Sen-
 “tence of the Proverb, *The Office setteth out the*
 “*Dignity of the Person that manageth it.*”

Affairs of THE Queen being provoked by her
Scotland. Husband, the Earl of *Angus's* Behaviour
 1527. to her, and detaining the King, her Son,
 against his Will, the Archbishop of *St. An-*

drews persuaded her to commence a Process, in or-
 der to be divorced from him, for which they had
 this Cause to alledge, “That he, having been be-
 “trothen and given in Promise of Marriage to a
 “Noblewoman of the Kingdom, before he married
 “the Queen, could not be her lawful Husband, by
 “reason of that Precontract.” The Earl appeared
 to the Process, and confessed the Charge against him,
 upon which the Archbishop pronounced the Divorce;
 but with this Reservation, “That the Daughter of
 “the Queen’s Body, begot by the Earl during their
 “Marriage, should not suffer any Loss, Damage or
 “Disadvantage.”

1528. Some time after this the Queen obtained
 from *Rome* a Sentence to confirm the Divorce,
 and then she married *Henry Stuart*, afterwards created
 Lord *Messin*, which drew several of the Nobility against
 her, and her Party, attempting the King’s Delivery
 by Force, were defeated near *Linlithgow*, and the Earl
 of *Lenox* slain. Yet the King made his Escape, from
 the Earl of *Angus*, to the Castle of *Sterling*; the
 Manner of which was thus: He supped sooner than
 ordinary, and entertained the Captain of his Guard
 with more than common Ceremony, telling him, that
 he proposed early the next Morning to take the usual
 Diversion of the Season, and therefore desired him
 to go to Rest; which, in Obedience to his Prince,
 he complied with, the King pretending to go to
 bed too: But, as soon as the Court was still, he shift-
 ed

ed his Cloaths, and put on the Apparel of one of his Grooms ; unperceived he passed the Guard to the Stable, from whence, with two that waited for him, he made his Escape to *Sterling*, where the Queen was ready to receive him : And great was the Earl of *Angus's* Surprize, when he found the King was gone.

The next Day the King publickly declared, he would call a Parliament to settle the Affairs of the Nation ; and, notwithstanding several Attempts were made to prevent their Meeting, it was held in *September*. By the Votes of this Parliament the Earl of *Angus*, his Brother and Uncle, and *Alexander Drummond*, the Earl's great Friends, were condemned, their Goods confiscated, and Proclamation was made, “ That, if any one entertained them, he or she should “ undergo the same Punishment.”

The *Douglas's* now despairing of *Mercy*, foraged and spoiled the Country even to the Gates of *Edinburgh*, which put the young King upon raising Forces, in order to suppress these Insurrections.

King *Henry* in the mean time, hearing of these Disturbances, sent Ambassadors about the end of *October* into *Scotland*, in order to treat of an Accommodation, which was effected ; a Truce between the two Nations being agreed on for five Years ; and the *Douglas's* were to deliver up the strong Places they had in *Scotland* to their King, he giving them a Consideration : But they on performing their Part, not finding the Rewards expected, retired into *England*, where they were honourably received by the King, and allowed Pensions.

It is true, *Alexander Drummond* was received into Favour, but whether on account of his Merit, or to divide the *Douglas* Faction, is uncertain : So that the young King a second time took on himself the Reins of Government, and was pleased to constitute of his Council, among others, the Earl of *Rothes*,

Rothes,* the Earl of *Eglington*,† and the Lord *Livingstone*.‡

Affairs now began to bear a favourable Aspect, the King had time to consult the Welfare of his People, and make several good Regulations in the Government for their general Benefit. His Majesty was likewise pleased to restore the most honourable Order of the Knights of *St. Andrew*, and erected a Throne or Stalls for them in *St. Michael's* Church in *Linlithgow*, making it the Chapel of the Order, according to the Usage at *Windsor*: He was also the first that ordered the *Thistle* to be added to the Badge of the Order; and the Motto, *Nemo me impune lacesset*, which is worne with the royal Arms, was given by him. In his Time the *Corden Verd*, or *Green Ribbon*, was worne by the Knights Companions of the Order; but King *James* the VIIth changed it to the *Blue Ribbon*, like that of the Knights of the *Garter* in *England*. After the *Union*, Queen *Anne*, to distinguish them, restored the *Green Ribbon*, and intended to have called a Chapter of the Order, with a Design to bring it again into its full Lustre; but in this she was disappointed by Death.

* The Origin of this antient and noble Family was from *Hungary*, taking their Name from the Castle of *Lesley* in that Country: There were also at one time three General Marshals of this Name to three several Princes; Count *Walter Lesley*, to the Emperor; *Alexander* Earl of *Leven*, to the King of *England*; and *David Lesley*, afterwards Lord *Newark*, to *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*: And the present Right Hon. *John Lesley*, Earl of *Roths*, is descended from the above Noblemen.

† This Nobleman left Issue *Hugh*, who dying without Issue

his Estate came to Sir *Alexander Seaton*, his Cousin-german, by Vertue of an Entail, who changed his Name to *Montgomery*, and took the Arms and enjoyed the Honour of Earl of *Eglington*; and from this last mentioned Nobleman the present Right Hon. *Alexander Montgomery*, Earl of *Eglington* is descended.

‡ This Lord, in the latter Part of his Life, had the Tuition of the Princess *Mary*, Daughter of King *James* the Vth, but afterwards died in *France*; and from his Lordship the present Right Hon. *James* Earl of *Linlithgow* is descended.

James the Vth was honoured with no less than four Orders of Knighthood; that of the *Garter*, conferred on him by his Uncle *Henry*; that of the *Golden Fleece* by the Emperor; that of *St. Michael*, by the King of *France*; and that of *St. Andrew*, for *Scotland*.

Notwithstanding his Majesty's Proceedings for the Good of his People, he perceived that 1529. some of his Nobility seemed inclinable to revolt, and therefore committed several of them to *Edinburgh* Castle, till they gave Hostages to secure the Borders against Invasions; and in *June* the King, attended by a considerable Force, visited the Frontiers, and executed Justice on all Thieves, Out-laws and Oppressors of the Poor, that were brought before him, there being no less than 38 of the former hanged: But he brought the King of the Thieves back to *Edinburgh*, where he was executed for more publick Example. By these Proceedings the King greatly gained the Affection of his People; and, among other Honours he bestowed on some of his Subjects, he was pleased to confer that of Knighthood on *Andrew Murray*,* Steward of *Strathern*, who had attended him.

We

* This Gentleman's Predecessors sprung from the Duke of *Athol's* Family; but his Descendants are, the present Right Hon. *David* Viscount *Stormont*; Baron of *Balvaird* and *Scoon*, and hereditary Keeper of that Palace; *James*, now Abroad; and the Hon. *William Murray*, Esq; who was of *Christ-church*

College, *Oxon*, (founded by our Cardinal) from thence entered into the Hon. Society of *Lincoln's-Inn*, in order to perfect his Studies in the Law; in which Profession he soon distinguished himself, and is now his Majesty's Solicitor-general: Whose great Merit the penetrating Genius of our Age early perceived.

Yet Time ennobles or degrades each Line,
It brighten'd CRAGGS, and may darken thine:
And what is Fame? the Meanest have their Day,
The Greatest can but blaze and pass away:
Great as thou art, with all the Pow'r of Words,
So known, so honour'd, at the House of Lords;
Conspicuous Scene! another yet is nigh,
(More silent far) where Kings and Poets lie;
Where MURRAY, long enough his Country's Pride,
Shall be no more than TULLY, or than HYDE.

We omitted to mention in the Year 1499, that Sir *Patrick Hume* * was made Comptroller of
Scot.

* From this Knight was descended Sir *Patrick Hume*, of *Polwarth*, Bart. who in 1665 was Knight of the Shire for *Berwick*, and by his publick Behaviour in that Capacity falling under the Displeasure of the then Government, was banished, and, after many Difficulties, arriving in *Holland*, was there received with great Kindness by the Prince of *Orange*, whom he attended into *England* in 1688; and, being very instrumental in bringing about the *Revolution*, and settling the Crown on King *William* and Queen *Mary*, was by them made one of the Privy Council, created Lord *Polwarth*, and appointed Lord High Chancellor of *Scotland*. He had assigned him, an *Orange proper*, ensigned with an Imperial Crown, placed in a Surtout of his Arms, as a lasting Mark, in all Times coming, of his Majesty's royal Favour to the Family of *Polwarth*. In 1697 he was created Earl of *Marchmont*, &c. In 1698 was made Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament of *Scotland*; and died 1724.

This great Earl had several Sons and Daughters, his eldest Son *Patrick* was Lord Treasurer of *Scotland* in 1698, and died in 1708.

Alexander, the 2d Son, (the late Earl of *Marchmont*) being educated in the Profession of the Law, was in 1704 made one of the Lords of Session in *Scotland*: And afterwards served with great Honour in several Ambassies Abroad, and died Feb. 27, 1739.

His Lordship married *Margaret*, Daughter and Heiress of Sir

George Campbell, by whom he had Issue at one Birth the present Earl of *Marchmont*, and the Hon. *Alexander Hume Campbell*, Esq; Member of the last and present Parliament for the Shire of *Berwick*, who was made *Solicitor General* to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, the 1st of Jan. 1741, and called within the Bar by Patent of Precedence in *Easter Term* following.

The Character of the last Earl of *Marchmont*, and of his two Sons, (who are now such great Ornaments to their Country) already handed to the Publick, is as follows:

“ His Thoughts were busy, his
“ Heart warm, his Soul transf-
“ ported with a Desire of ad-
“ vancing the Cause of his Coun-
“ try : To this he exhorted his
“ Friends ; to this he trained up
“ his Children ; to this he in-
“ fluenced all whom his Autho-
“ rity or Persuasions could move.
“ Thus lived, thus died this truly
“ virtuous, and therefore Great
“ Man : Nor were his Virtues
“ unrewarded by Providence,
“ even in this Life : He saw
“ them descend to his Children,
“ saw two Sons of uncommon Abi-
“ lities, cultivating and improv-
“ ing those Abilities by uncom-
“ mon Application, animating
“ them with the same noble
“ Spirit, and directing them to
“ the same generous Purposes,
“ as had inspired their Father in
“ the whole Course of his pub-
“ lick Behaviour, from his op-
“ posing the *Jacobite Frenzy* in
“ his earliest Youth, to his op-
“ posing the *Whig Corruption* in
“ the Decline of his Age.”

Scotland, and in great Favour with King James the IVth, of whom he obtained divers Lands in the Counties of *Sterling* and *Perth*, as that of the Barony of *Polwarth* had been obtained by his Father, who had given many signal Instances of his Valour, particularly at the Battle of *Roxburg*, when King James the IIId was killed.

In the Year 1530 the King * fixed the College of Justice at *Edinburgh*, which before was removed from Place to Place, by Circuits, in which Suits were peremptorily decided by Bailiffs, Sheriffs, and other Judges; but when any great Cause offered, it was adjudged by the King in Council, who gave free Audience to all his Subjects. The College consisted of 15 Judges in ordinary; eight spiritual Persons, of which the most ancient is stiled President, and the other seven Laymen; besides four Counsellors extraordinary, renewable at the Prince's Pleasure. The

James the
Vth.
1530.

Institu-

* After the Year 1530 King James lived pretty peaceably in his Kingdom for some time; and, as he was disappointed of marrying his Uncle's Daughter, the Princess Mary, he sailed into France, in the Year 1541, where he married Magdalen, King Francis's eldest Daughter, tho' greatly against the Liking of the King of England. With this Princess he returned to Scotland, but she lived only a few Weeks after her Arrival; for she died in July, greatly lamented by the King and the whole Nation.

Next he demanded Mary of Guise in Marriage, which he obtained, and by this Queen he had a Daughter born, Dec. 8, 1543, five Days before his Death, who was christened Mary.

The King's Death was thus occasioned: He had raised an Army in order to make War

with England, but in his March was deserted by his Nobility, who refused to follow him. Upon this he quitted the Command of his Army, and conferred it on the Lord Maxwell; after which he retired over the Fief; gave himself over to Sorrow, but yet was contriving Ways to be revenged on his Nobility. When he heard that his Queen was delivered of a Daughter, his last Words, according to Mr. Drummond, were, *It would end as it begun; the Crown came by a Woman, and it will with one go. Many Miseries approach this poor Kingdom; King Henry will get it by Arms or Marriage.* After which he said not many Words, but on the 13th of Dec. died, in the 33d Year of his Age, and 32d of his Reign; and the young Princess was immediately, upon her Father's Death, proclaimed Queen of Scotland.

Institution of this Court was in Imitation of one at *Paris*, founded by *Philip* the VIIth, King of *France*, in the Year 1288; and was soon found of so much Use, that the Pope himself confirmed it.

*Affairs of
Ireland.*

1527.

THE beginning of this Year Sir *Thomas Bulleyn*, who had married one of the Daughters and Coheirs of *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, was created Earl of *Ormond*.

Several *Irish* Potentates had for several Years received Pensions, on account of giving Protections to the King's Subjects, or at least sparing them from Plunder; but, though they punctually paid these Pensions, they were not always secure; for sometimes their Effects were taken from them; which was looked upon so very oppressive, that first they were discountenanced by an Act of Council; and afterwards an Act of Parliament passed for extinguishing this Demand for ever, which from that Time has been disused.

This

Mr. *Drummond* says, ' This King had an excellent Mind, and pity it was that it had not been carefully polished: However, he was studious of all good Arts, naturally given to Poesy, as many of his Verses yet extant testify; was a great Favourer of learned Men; the Poor loved him, and the Great feared him: Yet his burning alive the Lady *Glames*, beheading of the Master of *Forbes*, and after him Sir *James Hamilton*, turned many of his Nobles from him, and made the Commons detract him; for, tho' they delight sometimes to have great Men made equal to them, when they find not evident Proofs for Execution, they abhor the Actors. Princes should remember, that as the People are their Subjects, so are

they themselves the Subjects of Time and Providence. This Prince seems to be carried away by the Current of Grief; tho' all his Faults are but as a few Warts in a most pleasing Face. A Prince's Name is surer preserved in Paper, than in all the entombed Stones, which are liable to be destroyed at Pleasure: For, after this Prince's Corps was entombed, the Church where he was buried was made equal to the Ground, by the Armies of his Uncle *Henry* the VIIIth.

Some time after it was conveyed to another Vault, by his Grandson, King *James* the Ist of *England*, and VIth of *Scotland*, who caused it to be embalmed, and his Coffin to be adorned with the Arms of the Kingdom.

This Year the *Sweating Sicknefs* was fatal in *Ireland*, whereof feveral *Irish* Gentlemen died, and among others the Lord Chancellor, who was fucceeded in his Office by the Archbishop of *Dublin*. 1528.

Now the famous Emperor, *Charles* the Vth, took great Pains to ftir up the Earl of *Desmond* to rebel, for which Purpofe he fent an Ambaffador to him; but, before any Steps could be taken, the Earl died; fo that what the Emperor propofed came to nothing: Yet the Deputy, hearing what his Imperial Majefty was projecting in *Ireland*, fo carefully looked after the Government, that all *Charles's* future Schemes, to disturb the Peace of that Nation, proved ineffectual; and foon after, having Affairs of greater Moment to employ him, he gave over his Defigns upon *Ireland*. 1529.

King *Henry* about this Time was pleafed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *William Brabafon*,* Efq; and fome time afterwards made him Vice-treafurer of *Ireland*, which he held to his Death, and was for feveral Years one of the Lords Juftices thereof.

This Year Sir *William Skeffington*, † Knt. was made Mafter of the Ordnance in *Eng-land*, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, who, by his good Government, contributed greatly towards reftoring the Peace of that Nation. He died in *Dublin* about the Year 1534, and was buried in *St. Patrick's* Church, though a Monument is erected to his Memory at *Skeffington* in *Leicefterfhire*, being the antient Seat of the Family. 1530.

His

* From this Knight the Rt. *Brabafon*, Sifter to the firft Earl Hon. *Chambre Brabafon*, Earl of *Meath*, is defcended; and of this Family is the prefent Right Hon. the Earl of *Fingal*, whose great Anceftor married the Lady *Susan* of *Meath*.
† The Right Hon. *Clotworthy Skeffington*, Vifcount *Maftareen*, is defcended from this Knight.

His Majesty was pleased to constitute *Anthony St. Leger*,* Esq; one of the Commissioners to settle the Affairs of *Ireland*, and in 1539 he was appointed Lord Deputy, and afterwards made Knight of the *Garter*: He died in 1542, and was buried in *Kent* among his Ancestors.

In his Time (*Anno 1541*) an Act of Parliament passed for erecting *Ireland* into a Kingdom, and from thence the King of *England* was stiled King of *Ireland*; whereas before he was only called Lord of *Ireland*. This Act was afterwards confirmed by an Act passed in *England*.

Affairs of Eng-
land.

1528.

The Cardinal
presents Hamp-
ton-court to the
King.

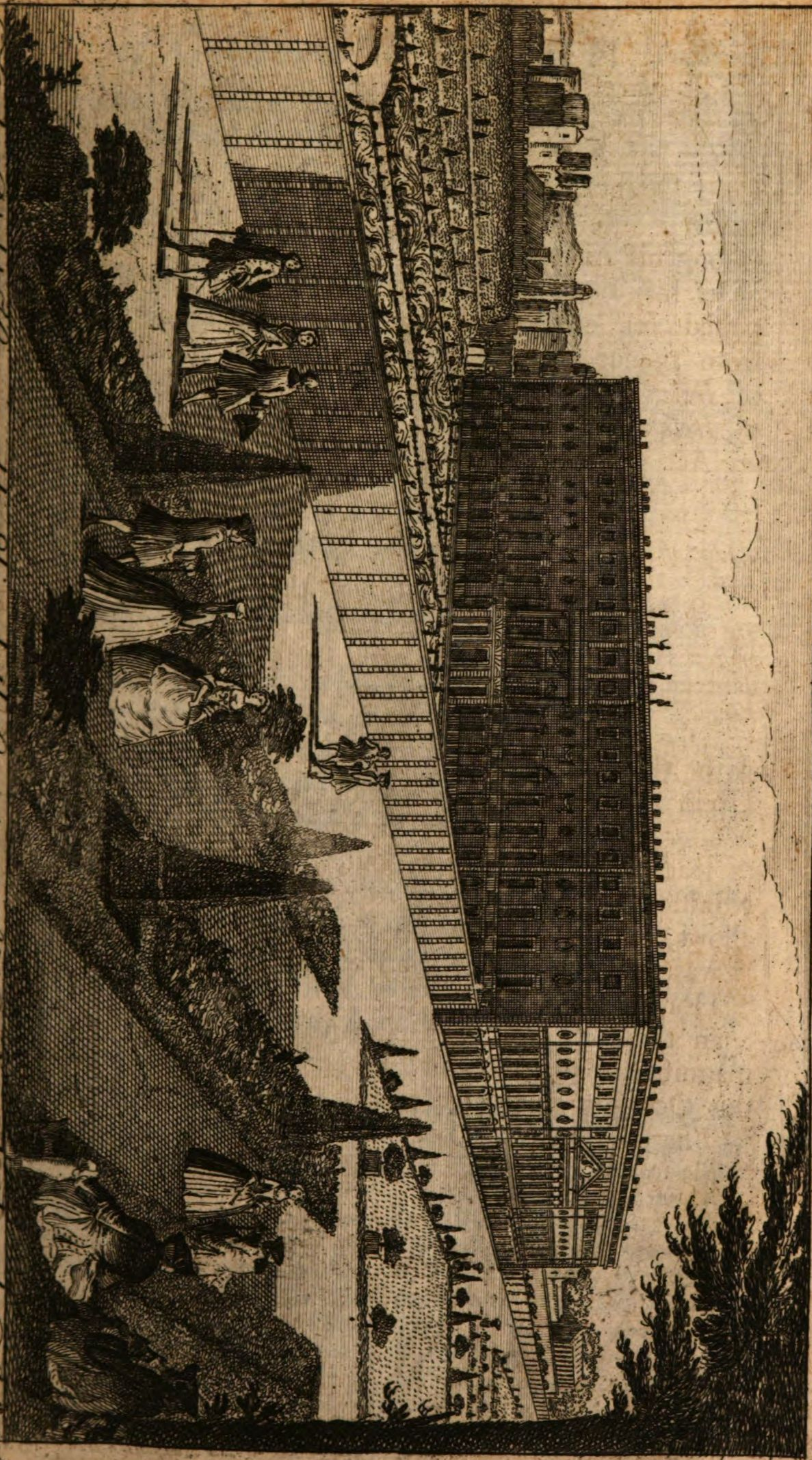
THE Cardinal, notwithstanding his close Attention to Business, enjoyed at convenient times the Pleasure of a Retreat at his Palace at *Hampton-court*,† (now compleatly finished, and elegantly furnished) where the King often visited him, being much taken both with the Situation and Beauty of the Structure. Upon this *Wolsey*, ever studious to please his Royal Master, very generously presented it to him, who as readily accepted of it, and, in Return, gave his Minister *Richmond* Palace to reside in: And *Rapin* allows, “ That this grand Present of *Hampton-court* “ was a stately Palace, and outshined all the King’s “ Houses.”

In those Days it was esteemed one of the most magnificent Structures in *Europe*; and *Cambden*, upon this Occasion, is pleased to give *Wolsey* this Character: “ That he built it out of Ostentation to shew “ his great Wealth, and that he was on all Ac- “ counts

* From this Lord Deputy the Right Honourable *Arthur St. Leger*, Viscount *Doneraile*, is descended.

† The Ground, whereon the Cardinal built this famous Palace, was purchased of the Lord *St. John*.

HAMP TON COURT.



To the Right Honourable Elizabeth Countess of Northumberland, This is most humbly inscribed by her Ladyship's most Obedient Son, J. Groom.

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“ counts exceeding prudent, but Insolence had carried
“ him beyond himself.” But if there is any Con-
sistency in it, we wish our Readers may discover it.

No sooner was this Palace in the King’s Hands,
but he enlarged the Buildings, which were so ex-
ceeding curious, that *Leland* celebrates them in the
following Lines.

*A Palace which Nature’s choicest Gifts adorn,
Where Thames’ kind Streams in gentle Currents run,
The Name of HAMPTON bath for Ages borne.
Here such a Palace shews great HENRY’s Care,
As Sol ne’er views in his exalted Sphere,
In all his tedious Stage. —————*

And on the Marriage of the *Thames* and *Isis* thus:

*To HAMPTON runs, whose State and Beauty shews,
A City here contracted in a House.
This the grave Prelate WOLSEY’s Care begun
To whom blind Fortune’s Arts were fully known,
And all her Smiles dash’d in one fatal Frown.*

This Royal Palace is environed on three Sides with
the River *Thames*, and consequently enjoys as plea-
sant a Situation as the Prudence of its Founder could
select; for it was indeed, as our Author says, a Work
of great Magnificence, for the Age it was built in. *
It

* Whoever knew *Hampton-
Court* before it was begun to be
rebuilt, or even altered by the
late King *William*, must acknow-
ledge it was a very complete
Palace, and fit for a King; and
though it might not, according
to the modern Taste of Building
or Gardening, pass for a Thing
exquisitely fine; yet it shewed a
Situation exceedingly capable of
further Embellishments, and of

being made one of the most de-
lightful Palaces in *Europe*; as
that sagacious Prince well knew,
and his penetrating Queen was
so sensible of, that, when the King
had ordered the old Apartments
to be pulled down, in order to
be built in the most beautiful
Form we see them now appear
in, her Majesty, impatient of en-
joying so agreeable a Retreat,
fixed upon a Building, formerly
made

It is a just Observation, from the Situations of the old Abbies and Monasteries, that the Clergy were excellent

made use of chiefly for landing from the River, called the *Water-gallery*; and here, as if her Mind had suggested she had but a few Years to enjoy the same, she ordered all the neat and curious Things to be done, which suited her own Conveniency, and made it the pleasantest Place, within Doors, that possibly could be imagined; though, its Situation being such as that it could not be allowed to stand after the great Building was finished, we now see no Remains of it.

The Queen had her Gallery of Beauties, being the Pictures at full Length of the principal Ladies attending her Majesty, or that were frequently in her Retinue; and they were the more agreeable Sight, as the Originals were all in being, and often to be compared with their Pictures. The Queen had here a fine Apartment, with a Set of Lodgings for her private Retreat, most curiously furnished; particularly a fine Chints-bed, then a great Curiosity; another of her own Work, while in *Holland*, very magnificent, and several others. Here also was her Majesty's Collection of *Delf* Ware, very large and fine, together with a vast Stock of the finest *China* Ware, the like not then in *Europe*, the long Gallery, and every other Place, where it could be lodged with Advantage, being filled with it.

Her Majesty had also here a small Bathing-room, made very fine, and suited either for hot

or cold Bathing, as the Season should invite; also a Dairy with all its Conveniencies, in which she took great Delight. All these Places and Offices were finished with great Expedition, that their Majesties might repose thither while they saw the main Building go forward. And the Gardens were now laid out, the Plan of them being devised by the King himself; and especially the Amendments and Alterations were made by the King, or Queen, or by both their particular Directions; for their Majesties agreed well in their Fancy in that Respect, and had both good Judgment in the just Proportion of Things. Here the fine Limes, which form the Semicircle in the South Front of the House by the Iron Gates, looking into the Park, were by the dexterous Hand of the head Gardner removed, after some of them had been almost thirty Years planted in other Places, though not far off, which thrive perfectly well.

While the Gardens were thus a laying out, the King also directed the Pipes for the Fountain and *Jetted Eau's*; and particularly their Dimensions, and what Quantity of Water they should cast up, the Number of which were increased after the first Design.

The Ground, on the Side of the other Front, has received some Alterations since the taking down of the *Water-gallery*; but not that Part immediately next the Lodging.

The

cellent Judges of the Beauty and Pleasantness of the Country, and always chose the best to settle in. It was more especially so in this of *Hampton*, being finely situated close to the River, yet not offended by the Rising

The Orange Trees and fine *Dutch* Bays were placed within the Arches of the fine Building under the first Floor; so that the lower Part was a Green-house for some Time. Here stand, advanced on two Pedestals of Stone, two Marble Vases or Flower-Pots of most beautiful Workmanship, the one done by an *Englishman*, and the other by a *German*; and it is hard to say which is the best Performance, though the working of them was for a Trial of Skill, and give us room, without any Partiality, to apprehend they were both Masters of their Art.

The Parterre on that Side descends from the Terras-walk by Steps; and on the left a Terras goes down to the Water-side, overlooking the Garden on the Eastward Front, and affords a most pleasant Prospect.

The fine Scrolls and Brodure of these Gardens were at first edged with Box: But, on the Queen's disliking those Edges, they were taken up; yet they have since been planted again, at least in many Places; nothing perhaps making so fair and regular an Edging as Box, or so soon brought to Perfection.

On the North Side of the Palace, where the Gardens seemed to want skreening from the Weather, or the View of the Chapel, and some Part of the old Building required to be covered from

the Eye, the vacant Ground which was large, is very happily cast into a Wilderness, with a Labyrinth and Espaliers so high, that they effectually take off all that Part of the old Building, which would have been offensive to the Sight.

The Labyrinth and Wilderness are not only well designed and compleatly finished, but perfectly well kept, and the Espaliers are filled to the very Ground, and led up to proportioned Heights; so that nothing of that Kind can be more beautiful.

The Palace itself is every way answerable on the Outside to a pleasing Prospect, and the two Fronts are the largest, and, beyond Comparison, the finest of the Kind in *Great Britain*.

The great Stairs go up from the second Court of the Palace on the Right-hand, and lead you to the South Prospect.

King *William* brought into *England* the Love of fine Paintings, (as well as that of fine Gardens) and you have an Example of it in the *Cartoons*, as they are called, being five Pieces of such Paintings as are not to be matched in *Europe*. The Stories of them are known, but especially two of them, viz. that of *St. Paul* preaching on *Mars Hill*, to the self-wise *Athenians*, and that of *St. Peter* passing Sentence on *Ananias*, on which his Death immediately ensued.

Rising of its Waters in Floods and Storms, nor affected with any Foulness thereof at the Flowing and Ebbing of the Tide ; for which Reason, though the Gardens extend almost to the Banks of the River, yet they are never overflowed ; nor are there any Marshes on either Side to make the Waters stagnate, or the Air unwholsome ; the River being deep enough to be navigable, has a lively Stream, (looks always chearful, not slow and sleepy like a Pond) which keeps the Waters ever clean, the Bottom in View, and the Fish playing in Sight : In a Word, it has every thing that makes an inland River pleasant, agreeable, and profitable.

Hampton-court lies about two little Miles from *Kingston upon Thames*, and, as the Road from *Stanes* to *Kingston* streightened the Park a little, they were obliged, in the Cardinal's Time, to part the Parks, and leave the Paddock and the great Park on the other Side of the Road ; a Testimony of his Regard for the common Good, the Service of the Country ; * and that

* To shew the Cardinal was strictly right, in not disgusting the People, by turning the Course of the common Roads or Highways, and how wrong those must be, who have at any time made Attempts of that Kind, take the following Relation from the great Lord *Clarendon's History* of the *Rebellion*, Vol. I. p. 100.

' The King, (*Charles the Ist*)
' who was excessively affected to
' Hunting and the Sports of the
' Field, had a great Desire to
' make a great Park for Red as
' well as Fallow Deer, between
' *Richmond* and *Hampton-court*,
' where he had large Wastes of his
' own, and great Parcels of Wood,
' which made it very fit for the
' Use he designed it to ; but, as
' some Parishes had Commons in
' those Wastes, so many Gentle-

' men and Farmers had good
' Houses and good Farms inter-
' mingled with those Wastes, of
' their own Inheritance, or for
' their Lives, or Years ; and with-
' out taking of them into the
' Park it would not be of the
' Largeness, or for the Use pro-
' posed : His Majesty desired to
' purchase those Lands, and was
' very willing to buy them upon
' higher Terms than the People
' could sell them at to any body
' else, if they had Occasion to
' part with them, and thought
' it no unreasonable Thing upon
' those Terms to expect this from
' his Subjects ; and so he employ-
' ed his own Surveyor and other
' of his Officers, to treat with
' the Owners, many whereof
' were his own Tenants, whose
' Farms would at last expire.

' The

that he would not, to gratify his Pleasure, interrupt the Course of the Road, or cause the poor People to

B b 2

go

‘ The major Part of the People
‘ were in a short time prevailed
‘ with, but many very obstinately
‘ refused; and a Gentleman, who
‘ had the best Estate, with a con-
‘ venient House and Gardens,
‘ would by no means part with it;
‘ and the King being as earnest to
‘ compass it, it made a great Noise,
‘ as if the King would take away
‘ Men’s Estates at his own Plea-
‘ sure. The Bishop of *London*,
‘ (*Juxton*) who was Treasurer,
‘ and the Lord *Cottington*, Chan-
‘ cellor of the *Exchequer*, were,
‘ from the first entering upon it,
‘ very averse from the Design, not
‘ only for the Murmur of the
‘ People, but because the Purchase
‘ of the Land, and the making a
‘ Brick-wall about so large a Par-
‘ cel of Ground, (for it is near ten
‘ Miles about) would cost a greater
‘ Sum of Money than they could
‘ easily provide, or than they
‘ thought ought to be sacrificed to
‘ such an Occasion; and the Lord
‘ *Cottington*, who was more solli-
‘ cited by the Country People,
‘ (and heard most of their Mur-
‘ murs) took the Business most to
‘ heart, and endeavoured by all
‘ the Ways he could, and by fre-
‘ quent Importunities, to divert
‘ his Majesty from pursuing it,
‘ and put all Delays he could
‘ well do in the Bargains which
‘ were to be made; till the King
‘ grew very angry with him and
‘ told him, “He was resolved to
“ go through with it, and had
“ already caused Brick to be
“ burned, and much of the Wall
“ to be built upon his own Land.”

‘ Upon which *Cottington* thought
‘ fit to acquiesce.

‘ The building the Wall be-
‘ fore People consented to part
‘ with their Lands, or their Com-
‘ mon, looked to them as if by
‘ degrees they should be shut out
‘ from both, and increased the
‘ Murmur and Noise of the Peo-
‘ ple who were not concerned, as
‘ well as of them who were; and
‘ it was too near *London* not to
‘ be the common Discourse. The
‘ Archbishop (*Laud*) who (de-
‘ fired exceedingly that the King
‘ should be possessed as much of
‘ the Hearts of the People as was
‘ possible, at least that they should
‘ have no just Cause to complain)
‘ meeting with it, resolved to
‘ speak with the King about it,
‘ which he did, and received such
‘ an Answer from him, that he
‘ thought his Majesty rather not
‘ informed enough of the Incon-
‘ veniencies and Mischiefs of the
‘ Thing, than positively resolved
‘ not to desist from it. Where-
‘ upon one Day he took the Lord
‘ *Cottington* aside (being informed
‘ that he disliked it, and, accord-
‘ ing to his natural Custom, spake
‘ with great Warmth against it)
‘ and told him, “He should do
“ very well to give the King
“ good Counsel and to withdraw
“ him from a Resolution, in
“ which his Honour and Justice
“ was so much called in que-
“ stion.” *Cottington* answered him
‘ very gravely, “That the Thing
“ designed was very lawful, and
“ he thought the King resolved
“ very well, since the Place lay
“ so

go out of the Way of their Business, to and from the adjoining Market-towns and Villages: Which certainly,

“so conveniently for his Winter-exercise; and that he should by it not to be compelled to make so long Journeys, as he used to do, in that Season of the Year, for his Sport; and that no Body ought to dissuade him from it.”

“The Archbishop, instead of finding a Concurrence from him as he expected, seeing himself reproached upon the Matter for his Opinion, grew into much Passion, telling him, “Such Men as he would ruin the King, and make him lose the Affection of his Subjects; that, for his own Part, as he had began, so he would go on, to dissuade the King from proceeding in so ill a Counsel, and that he hoped it would appear who had been his Counsellor.”

“Cottington, glad to see him so soon hot, and resolved to inflame him more, very calmly replied to him, “That he thought a Man could not, with a good Conscience, hinder the King from pursuing his Resolution; and that it could not but proceed from want of Affection to his Person, and he was not sure that it might not be High Treason.”

“The other, upon the Wildness of his Discourse, in great Anger asked him, “Why? from whence he had received that Doctrine?”—“He said with the same Temper, “They who did not wish the King’s Health could not love him, and they who went about to hinder his taking Recreation, which preserved his

Health, might be thought, for ought he knew, guilty of the highest Crimes.” Upon which the Archbishop, in great Rage and with many Reproaches, left him; and either presently, or upon the next Opportunity, told the King, “That he now knew who was his great Counsellor for making his Park, and that he did not wonder that Men durst not represent any Argument to the contrary, or let his Majesty know how much he suffered in it, when such Principles in Divinity and Law, were laid down to terrify them.” And so recounted to him the Conference he had with the Lord Cottington, bitterly inveighing against him and his Doctrine, mentioning him with all the sharp Reproaches imaginable, and beseeching his Majesty, “That his Counsel might not prevail with him;” taking some Pains to make his Conclusions appear very false and ridiculous.

“The King said no more, but, “My Lord, you are deceived, “Cottington is too hard for you, upon my Word; he hath not only dissuaded me more, and given me more Reasons against this Business, than all the Men in England have done, but hath really obstructed the Work, by his not doing his Duty as I commanded him, for which I have been very much displeased with him; you see how unjustly your Passion hath transported you.” By which Reprehension he found how much he had

tainly, when rightly considered, must greatly recommend his Memory with Honour; and, with Pleasure we can say it, since this Palace has come into Royal Hands no Step has been taken to interrupt the Course of the Road in that Part of the Country: A noble Example worthy of Imitation.

Archbishop *Warham*, at the beginning of this Year, was so extremely ill, that he was not capable of going abroad, so that several Letters and Messages passed between him and Cardinal *Wolsey*, from which it fully appears, that he expressed great Tenderneſs and Care for his Constitution, and offered him the Use of a handsome Apartment in his pleasant Palace at *Hampton-court*, before he made a Present of it to the King, believing the Change of Air might help to recover him to his former good State of Health. This and other Favours the Archbishop acknowledged in the strongest Terms.*

*The Cardinal's
Care of Archb.
Warham.
1528.*

This

‘ had been abused, and resented it
‘ accordingly.’

Notwithstanding all that could be said, the Park was inclosed in King *Charles* the Ist's Reign, and continues so to this Day, and is now closer shut up than at the beginning; for no Persons are permitted to pass through it without producing Tickets, of which few or none are delivered to the Inhabitants thereabouts. Many have thought that the first Inclosing this Park was the Fore-runner of the melancholy Consequences that followed, which we shall draw a Vail over, referring our Readers to Lord *Clarendon's* History for the further Particulars of the Transactions of those unhappy Times.’

* ‘ *To the most Rev. Father in
‘ God, and my very singular
‘ good Lord, Cardinal of York,
‘ Legate de Latere, his good
‘ Grace.*

‘ PLEASE IT YOUR GRACE
‘ to understand, that I have
‘ hitherto deferred to make an
‘ Answer unto your Grace's last
‘ Letters, because I had thought,
‘ strait after *Christmas*, to have
‘ waited on your Grace, and to
‘ have communed with the same
‘ in divers Matters, which Sick-
‘ ness will not suffer me so to do,
‘ unless I should do contrary to
‘ the Advice of my Physicians,
‘ and put myself in Jeopardy;
‘ nevertheless, if God send me
‘ any Amendment, I purpose to
‘ give Attendance on your Grace
‘ about

This Letter we apprehend is a perfect Evidence of *Wolsey's* having dealt most respectfully and kindly by
War-

‘ about the *Purification* of our
 ‘ *Lady*, and then to supply such
 ‘ Things as I omit in this Let-
 ‘ ter. First, as it is my very
 ‘ Duty and Office of kind Re-
 ‘ membrance, I thank your
 ‘ Grace as heartily as I can, for
 ‘ your manifold Favours shewed
 ‘ unto me, many Ways hereto-
 ‘ fore; and now especially, that
 ‘ it hath pleased the same not
 ‘ only to advise me to make
 ‘ my Abode in high and dry
 ‘ Ground, as *Knolls* was, and
 ‘ such others, but also to offer
 ‘ unto me, of your singular Bi-
 ‘ nignity and Goodness, a plea-
 ‘ sant Lodging in your whol-
 ‘ some Mannor at *Hampton-court*,
 ‘ where I should not diseafe, nei-
 ‘ ther be diseased, there to con-
 ‘ tinue for the attaining of my
 ‘ Health as long as I should
 ‘ think it expedient; by which
 ‘ excellent Benevolence and Gra-
 ‘ titude, expressing evidently your
 ‘ Grace’s very tender Love to
 ‘ me, and by all other Tokens
 ‘ and Proofs of your Grace’s af-
 ‘ fured and continual Favour to-
 ‘ wards me and my Servants,
 ‘ I repute myself so much boun-
 ‘ den to your Grace, and think
 ‘ myself far unable to deserve or
 ‘ requite your Grace’s said Fa-
 ‘ vours and great Humanity;
 ‘ albeit, at all times, I would
 ‘ be ready and glad, with good
 ‘ Heart and Mind, (and so your
 ‘ Grace shall find me ever) to do
 ‘ your Grace any Service or Plea-
 ‘ sure, that may be in my little
 ‘ Power with my Benevolence.
 ‘ I beseech your Grace to ac-

‘ cept and take in Stead and Place
 ‘ of mutual Beneficence, where
 ‘ my Power is insufficient. And
 ‘ I intirely thank your Grace,
 ‘ that it hath pleased the same
 ‘ to write unto me in your last
 ‘ Letter, that your Grace would
 ‘ give Orders to your Officers,
 ‘ that as large and ample Favour
 ‘ should be shewed to my Ne-
 ‘ phew, the Archdeacon of *Can-*
 ‘ *terbury*, as to all other Arch-
 ‘ deacons, touching their Com-
 ‘ positions with your Grace for
 ‘ their Jurisdctions; and for a
 ‘ Conclusion for my said Ne-
 ‘ phew his Jurisdiction, I have
 ‘ sent this Bearer, one of his Pro-
 ‘ curators, to your Grace’s Of-
 ‘ ficers to give Attendance in that
 ‘ Behalf. As touching my Of-
 ‘ ficer, the Dean of my Court
 ‘ of Arches, I trust I have gi-
 ‘ ven him such Admonition as
 ‘ he will remember during his
 ‘ Life, and be well aware to busy
 ‘ himself in any Matters which
 ‘ may sound to your Grace’s
 ‘ Discontention and Displeasure,
 ‘ and I hope your Grace will
 ‘ not deal extreamly with him,
 ‘ but only train him with con-
 ‘ tinual Attendance for his learn-
 ‘ ing to be more circumspect in
 ‘ Time to come; and that for
 ‘ my Sake your Grace hath also
 ‘ discharged him of the said At-
 ‘ tendance, I heartily thank your
 ‘ Grace, affirming, without Co-
 ‘ lour or Dissimulation, that nei-
 ‘ ther he, or any other Officer,
 ‘ Kinsman or Servants of mine,
 ‘ shall continue in my Service
 ‘ or Favour, which would here-
 ‘ after

Warham, his Relations, Dependants and Servants, during his Administration: Then, if this should be allowed, as we make no doubt but it will, what Credit is to be given to *Rapin*, and several other Authors, who have audaciously affirmed the contrary.

Having obtained a proper Authority, *William Brown*, the Prior of *St. Peter's* Priory, in *Ipswich*, surrendered it to the Cardinal *March* the 6th, 1527; upon this he immediately directed the Foundation of his intended College to be laid, the Fraternity of which was to consist of a Dean, twelve Canons, eight Singing-men, and as many Choristers, where Youth were to be educated, in order to fit them for his College in *Oxford*; and the Building was carried on with such Expedition, and gave so much Satisfaction, that it met with great Encouragement, not only from the Corporation of *Ipswich*, but from the Gentlemen round the Country.

The Cardinal founds his College at Ipswich.

The

‘ after willingly fall into your
 ‘ Grace’s Displeasure or Indig-
 ‘ nation, and so I have declared
 ‘ unto them myself; shewing
 ‘ how good and gracious I find
 ‘ you towards me, and how it
 ‘ hath pleased your Grace to
 ‘ write unto me, that you would
 ‘ be as good unto them as they
 ‘ could reasonably and justly de-
 ‘ fire; so that they use and or-
 ‘ der themselves accordingly to-
 ‘ wards your Grace and yours,
 ‘ and as they ought to do. In
 ‘ which good and favourable
 ‘ Mind, I beseech your Grace
 ‘ ever to continue as Ye shall
 ‘ have me ever your perpetual
 ‘ Orator. I have lately set up
 ‘ a Writing both at *Knolls*, *Ot-*
 ‘ *ford*, and *Shoreham*, against

‘ such as misused a certain Ap-
 ‘ parator of your Grace’s in these
 ‘ Parts, that the Misdoers appear
 ‘ before me in 15 Days under
 ‘ the Pain of Cursing, and I trust
 ‘ by that Means, or by other
 ‘ Espials, to tire them out, if
 ‘ it be possible, and then further
 ‘ to order them so as all other
 ‘ shall be warned by them of
 ‘ such Wilfulness and contemp-
 ‘ tuous Temerity. At my Man-
 ‘ nor of *Knolls*, the 12th Day
 ‘ of the Month of *January*.

‘ At your Grace’s Com-
 ‘ mandment,

‘ *Will Cantuar*”

See the Original in the Record-
 Office, near *Westminster Abbey*.

The Cardinal soon after appointed *William Capon* Dean of this College, who repaired thither, and greatly hastened the Buildings; and, as many of the Apartments were ready before the End of this Year, he sent Mr. *Thomas Cromwell* down with several rich Pieces of Furniture, as well as Copes, Vestments, and other Cloaths besides Plate, the Receipt of which the Dean acknowledged in a Letter to his Eminence. During the Time Mr. *Cromwell* was there, he also took great Pains in ordering the further Progress of the Building and Furniture, particularly of the Hall.

After the Dean had given the Cardinal an Account of what Mr. *Cromwell* had transacted, he descends to relate how they spent other Parts of their Time as under mentioned. *

Mr.

* ‘ Upon our *Lady’s* Even, I,
 ‘ with all the Company of your
 ‘ Grace’s College, as the Sub-
 ‘ Dean, Mr. *Ellis*, six Priests,
 ‘ eight Clerks, and nine Cho-
 ‘ risters, with all our Servants,
 ‘ when we had finished our
 ‘ Even-song in our College
 ‘ Church, then immediately af-
 ‘ ter we repaired together to our
 ‘ *Lady’s*, and there sung Even-
 ‘ song as solemnly and devout-
 ‘ ly as we could, and there ac-
 ‘ companied us Mr. *Stephens*,
 ‘ Dr. *Lee*, and Mr. *Cromwell*,
 ‘ with Mr. *Humphry Wingfield*,
 ‘ (to whom all we of your Grace’s
 ‘ College be much bounden un-
 ‘ to, for his loving and kind
 ‘ Manner shewed unto us) the
 ‘ Bailiffs of the Town, with the
 ‘ Portmen and the Prior of
 ‘ *Christ-church*, all the which ac-
 ‘ companied us that same Night
 ‘ home again to your Grace’s
 ‘ College, with as loving and
 ‘ kind a Manner as I have seen;
 ‘ and at their coming thi-
 ‘ ther, they drank with me both
 ‘ Wine and Beer, and so that
 ‘ Night departed. On the next
 ‘ Day, which was our *Lady’s*
 ‘ Day, the 8th of *September*, a
 ‘ Day of very foul Weather,
 ‘ and rained so continually, that
 ‘ we could not go in Procession
 ‘ through the Town to our *La-
 dy’s* Chapel, according to our
 ‘ Statute, by your Grace made,
 ‘ but we made as solemn Pro-
 ‘ cession in your Grace’s College
 ‘ Church as could be desired;
 ‘ insomuch that there were 40 of
 ‘ your Copes worn there, and
 ‘ as much People as could stand
 ‘ in the Church and in the
 ‘ Church-yard; also all the ho-
 ‘ nourable Gentry of the Shire
 ‘ were there, as Master *Went-
 worth*, Sir *John Willoughby*,
 ‘ Sir *Philip Tilney*, Mr. *Bowth*,
 ‘ Sir *Thomas Tay*, with Mr. *Be-
 nefyelde*, Mr. *Pyrton*, Mr. *Jer-
 meyne*, Mr. *Humphry Wing-
 field*,

Mr. *Cromwell*, having executed the different Trusts reposed in him, returned to *London*, where he was so well

‘ *field*, with many other, to the
 ‘ Number of 24 Gentlemen of
 ‘ the Country, besides the Bai-
 ‘ liffs, Portmen of the Town,
 ‘ the Prior of *Christ Church*, the
 ‘ Prior of *Butley*, Dr. *Green*, Vi-
 ‘ car of *Alborowth*, as Commis-
 ‘ saries both to your Grace and
 ‘ the Bishop of *Norwich*, and
 ‘ the Duke of *Norfolk*’s Almoner,
 ‘ Mr. *Hege*; all the which were
 ‘ there, with what Good-will
 ‘ and Diligence they could, to do
 ‘ your Grace Honour that Day,
 ‘ and they all took Repast at
 ‘ Dinner in your Grace’s Col-
 ‘ lege, and, as I trust, well en-
 ‘ tertained with good Fare, and
 ‘ such Fashion as we could de-
 ‘ vise, wherewith they were
 ‘ right well contented and pleas-
 ‘ ed, as I supposed.

‘ Furthermore, as for your
 ‘ Grace’s College Church, one
 ‘ Man is not able both to attend
 ‘ and keep the Revestry, and
 ‘ do all Things in the Church, as
 ‘ to ring the Bells, keep the
 ‘ Church clean, prepare the Al-
 ‘ tar Lights, and other Necess-
 ‘ saries, and to see all the other
 ‘ Ornaments well and sufficient-
 ‘ ly repaired, and kept without
 ‘ any Impairing, and to set forth
 ‘ every Day all such Things as are
 ‘ to be occupied about God’s Ser-
 ‘ vice; therefore, by the Advice
 ‘ of Mr. *Stephens*, Mr. *Lee*, and
 ‘ Mr. *Cromwell*, I have put into
 ‘ the Church another Man to
 ‘ help the Yeoman of the Re-
 ‘ vestry, and named him *Sexton*,
 ‘ until the Time I know further
 ‘ of your Grace’s Pleasure in that

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‘ Behalf: Also here be but five
 ‘ Priests, besides your Sub-dean,
 ‘ which are too little a Number
 ‘ to keep in Masses every Day,
 ‘ according to your Grace’s Sta-
 ‘ tutes; and the Sub-dean cannot
 ‘ attend upon his Charge, for
 ‘ surveying of the Works and
 ‘ Buildings of your Grace’s Col-
 ‘ lege; wherefore we most hum-
 ‘ bly desire, and pray your
 ‘ Grace to have more Priests,
 ‘ to perform your Grace’s Ordi-
 ‘ nance in your sacred College,
 ‘ or else to dispense with us for
 ‘ one of your Masses, either the
 ‘ *Requiem* Mass, or else our *La-*
 ‘ *dy*’s Mass, unto the time we
 ‘ be better furnished with Priests,
 ‘ to accomplish and perform your
 ‘ Grace’s Ordinance and Statutes
 ‘ therein; and, but for Mr. *Ken-*
 ‘ *tall*, we could in a manner do
 ‘ nothing in our Choir; he tak-
 ‘ eth very great Pains, and is al-
 ‘ ways present at Mattins and
 ‘ all Masses with Even-song, and
 ‘ setteth the Choir in good Or-
 ‘ der from time to time, and
 ‘ faileth not at any time. He
 ‘ is very sober and discreet, and
 ‘ bringeth up your Choristers
 ‘ very well, assuring your Grace
 ‘ there shall be no better Chil-
 ‘ dren in any Place of *England*,
 ‘ than we shall have here, and
 ‘ that in short time. I have also
 ‘ made 15 *Albes* of the new
 ‘ Cloth I had of your Grace,
 ‘ delivered by the Hand of Mr.
 ‘ *Alvarde*, your Grace’s Servant,
 ‘ and yet there is 14 *Albes* more
 ‘ to be made, to the Suits now
 ‘ lately sent by your Grace to

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well received, that it was soon perceived by the Cardinal's Servants, *Cromwell* every Day gained the Goodwill of his Master.

The Corporation of *Ipswich* was so pleased with the Cardinal's Founding his College there, that they wrote him the following Letter, the Original being preserved in the *Exchequer Record-office*; and thus addressed.

“ To

‘ us by Mr. *Cromwell*, besides
 ‘ *Albes* for 14 Tunicles, and seven
 ‘ Pair of odd Parrers for Children.
 ‘ Furthermore, there have been
 ‘ sent unto your Grace's College,
 ‘ against the Nativity of our *Lady*, nine Bucks, to wit, two from
 ‘ the Duke of *Norfolk*, two from
 ‘ the Duke of *Suffolk*, one from
 ‘ my *Lady* of *Oxford* the younger,
 ‘ one from Sir *Philip Bowth*, one
 ‘ from Mr. *Pyrton*, one from Mr.
 ‘ *Scutler*, your Grace's Servant,
 ‘ and one from *Richard Caven-*
 ‘ *dish*, your Grace's Servant,
 ‘ which Bucks were spent on our
 ‘ said *Lady-day*, in your Grace's
 ‘ College, and in the Town of
 ‘ *Ipswich*; whereof one Buck was
 ‘ delivered to the Chamberlains of
 ‘ the Town, for the 24 Head-men
 ‘ of the same Town, and in Money
 ‘ ten Shillings to make merry with-
 ‘ al, by the Advice of Mr. *Ste-*
 ‘ *phens*, Mr. *Lee*, and Mr. *Crom-*
 ‘ *well*; and in like manner to the
 ‘ *Bailiffs Wives* * and *Portmen's*
 ‘ *Wives* to make merry with, a
 ‘ Buck and 10 Shillings; and to
 ‘ the Curates of the same Town
 ‘ a Buck with six Shillings eight
 ‘ Pence in Money for their Pains
 ‘ and Labour in our Processions.
 ‘ Also Mr. *Russ*, to whom all
 ‘ your Grace's College is much

‘ beholden, ever ready to do Plea-
 ‘ sures, and also to take Pains for
 ‘ us in all our Causes, at the
 ‘ same Day he gave to us six
 ‘ Couple of Coneyes, two Phea-
 ‘ sants, and one Dozen of Quails.
 ‘ Also the Prior of *Butley*, he
 ‘ gave to us two Pheasants and a
 ‘ fat Crane.

‘ Also we have received of
 ‘ Mr. *Dawndy* 171 Tons of Cane-
 ‘ Stone, and, within a Fortnight
 ‘ after *Michaelmas* now next
 ‘ coming, we shall have 100 Tons
 ‘ more; so that your Workmen
 ‘ shall not be unoccupied for want
 ‘ of Stone.

‘ And the said Mr. *Dawndy*
 ‘ hath promised to me, that, be-
 ‘ fore *Easter* next coming, we
 ‘ shall have here ready 1000
 ‘ Tons more of the said Cane-
 ‘ Stone.

‘ And thus the *Holy Trinity*
 ‘ preserve your Grace. From
 ‘ your Grace's College in *Ips-*
 ‘ *wich*, the 26th Day of *Septem-*
 ‘ *ber*, by your most bounden Ser-
 ‘ vant and humble Chaplain,

‘ WILLIAM CAPON.

See the original Letter in the
Cotton Library.

* The Reader may perceive, that the Cardinal's Dean, and his Servant, Mr. *Cromwell*, did not forget the *Bailiffs* and *Portmen's Wives*, who they resolved should have Provisions to make them merry as well as their Husbands.

“ *To the Lord CARDINAL's good Grace.*

“ PLEASETH YOUR MOST NOBLE GRACE to un-
 “ derstand, that we, your daily Beadsmen, do well
 “ perceive the great Zeal and Goodness that your
 “ Grace beareth and hath to the Weal and Prosperity
 “ of this the King's Town of *Ipswich*, and of the Prof-
 “ perity of the same, as well by making of your ho-
 “ nourable College here of late erected to the Honour,
 “ Laud, and Praise of Almighty God, and of our
 “ Blessed Lady, as also by setting up your Grammar-
 “ school, and the ordering of the Form of the Learning
 “ of the same, to the great Increase of Learning, of the
 “ same virtuous bringing up of young Children as
 “ well here as in other Places ; which your two before
 “ honourable rehearsed Acts be not only unto us, your
 “ said Beadsmen, a singular and great Comfort, but
 “ also the People here, as well Children as our aged
 “ Folks, do greatly rejoyce at the same ; for the which,
 “ and for many other Benefits by your Grace to us
 “ before this done, we, your said Beadsmen, for our-
 “ selves and in the Names of all the said Inhabitants,
 “ intending to be your daily Beadsmen, give unto
 “ your most noble Grace our most humble Thanks :
 “ And for that we right well know the same for our
 “ Parts be not unto your Grace sufficient and condine
 “ Satisfaction, we therefore shall daily humbly pray
 “ God to send unto your Grace in this World Life,
 “ Honour, Prosperity, and Health in Body, with the
 “ Accomplishment of all your noble Acts, and in
 “ the Life to come the Joys of Heaven. Written at
 “ the said Town of *Ipswich*, the 8th Day of *August*,
 “ By your most humble and daily Beadsmen, *Henry*
 “ *Stannard* and *Nicholas Harvy*, Bailiffs of the
 “ said Town, and other Portmen of the same,

“ *James Hill,*
 “ *William Stysted,*
 “ *John Butler.*”

After the Receipt of this Letter the Dean of the College, by his Eminence's Order, applied to the Corporation to request them to assign the Lands, formerly appropriated for the Use of their Grammar-school at *Ipswich*, to the School now founded by the Cardinal, towards the better Support and Maintenance of the Master thereof, which they readily complied with, as appears in the following most respectful Letter; the Original being likewise to be found in the *Exchequer Record-office*.

" To my Lord LEGATE's good Grace.

" PLEASETH YOUR GRACE to be advertised, that
" we, the Bailiffs, Portmen and Inhabiants of this
" the King's Town of Ipswich have lately perceived,
" by Master Dean of your new College, of Ipswich afore-
" said, that your Pleasure and Device is, that all such
" Lands and Tenements, as of old Time have been
" limited and appointed to the Grammar-master there,
" should be given to your new College, towards the
" Sustainment of your new Master of Grammar of
" your School there, and his Successors, and by your
" Grace appointed and ordained, and that your Grace
" would have our Free Assent unto the same.*

" It may please your Grace to be advertised, that
" we well apperceive and consider the manifold Good-
" nefs that your Grace hath shewed, as well in the
" Erection of the same College and Grammar-school
" there, as also many and divers Things that it hath
" pleased your Grace to do to the Weal of the said Town;
" for which we confess ourselves unable to make your
" Grace any sufficient Recompence: But, as touching
" your said Request and Desire, we all be not only
" content freely with our Assent to accomplish and
" fulfil the same, but also to do and execute all and
" every other Thing that shall be hereafter your gra-
" cious

* Sure this is an Instance of Enemies have been so fond of his being of an equitable Disposition, and not arbitrary, as his charging him with; here is no Compulsion, but free Assent required.

“ cious Pleasure to advertise us to do for the Coro-
“ boration of the same, as knoweth our Lord God ;
“ who send unto your Grace, our especial good and
“ gracious Lord, long Life and Health to his Plea-
“ sure, and to the full Accomplishment of all your
“ honourable Affairs. Written at *Ipswich*,

“ By your most humble and Daily Beadsmen,
“ the Bailiffs of *Ipswich*,

“ *Thomas Hill,*
“ *Thomas Clauser.*”

Such was his Affection for this College, and so de-
sirous was he the Youth should be properly educated
there, by early learning Grammar Rudiments, that
he gave a particular Direction, for the famous *Wil-*
liam Lilly's Grammar to be made use of, and conde-
scended himself to write a *Latin* Preface to it, a Trans-
lation of which and the old Title follows.

“ **R** *Udiments of Grammar, and a Method of Teaching,*
“ *not so much prescribed for the Use of the School*
“ *of Ipswich, happily founded by the most Rev. Lord*
“ *Thomas, Cardinal, of York, as for all other Schools*
“ *throughout England.*”

“ THOMAS, Cardinal, of York, &c. to the Masters of
“ *Ipswich School, greeting.*

“ **W** E imagine no body can be ignorant of the
“ Care, Study, and Industry of Mind, with
“ which we have hitherto directed our Labours, not
“ for our own private Interest, but that of our Coun-
“ try, and all our Citizens, which we have very much
“ at heart ; and in which Particular we shall deem
“ ourselves to have been most amply gratified, if,
“ by any divine Blessing, we should improve the
“ Minds of the People. Wherefore, being filled with
“ the utmost Zeal to promote Learning and Piety
“ in

“ in our native Place, which she claims of us as a
 “ certain Right, we have founded a *Latin* School, no
 “ ways inelegant, as an evident Testimony of our
 “ chief Regard for her: But, as it would be imperfect
 “ to erect a School, however magnificent, unless at-
 “ tended by learned Masters, we have every way stu-
 “ died to give the Government thereof to two chosen
 “ and approved Teachers, under whose Tuition *Bri-*
 “ *tish* Youth may by degrees, from their earliest
 “ Years, imbibe both Morals and Letters; well know-
 “ ing that the Hopes of a Republick arise from their
 “ Minds being then framed aright. And, that the same
 “ may the more happily and speedily be brought to
 “ bear, we have taken all manner of Care, that ye
 “ should have such Books as are most necessary for the
 “ Instruction of them. In this our new School, whereof
 “ ye are Masters, ye must teach the Boys by Turns,
 “ and diligently exercise them in the Rudiments and
 “ Method of Learning, that they may afterwards be ad-
 “ vanced to the most elegant Literature and the best
 “ of Morals. To this Purpose, if ye Labour with
 “ equal Care to our Satisfaction, ye shall not only de-
 “ serve our great Favours for your Pains, but render
 “ it also happy for your Successors. Fare ye well.
 “ From our Palace, *Ann. Dom. 1528, Kal. Sept.*”

Notwithstanding the honest and generous Views the
 Cardinal had in erecting his College at *Ipswich*, for the
 further Encouragement of Learning, and leaving a
 lasting Testimony of his Regard for the Place of his
 Birth, it had but a very short Continuation; and, in
 about three Years after its Foundation, he fell with it,
being, as Shakespear says, unwilling to out-live the Good
he did it: But the Design of destroying his College,
 upon his Disgrace, gave the Cardinal so great Con-
 cern that he regretted it to the last Moment of his
 Life; and therefore, as we apprehend, the Natives
 of the Town, when they remember the Legacy he
 proposed

proposed to have left them, ought to reverence his Memory.*

Before this Year expired that great *Death of Bi-*
and good Man, Dr. Fox, Bishop of *Win-* *shop Fox.*
chester, died, (who had been one of the Cardinal's
chiefest Patrons) whose Character we leave the Reader
to collect from what we have already said of him.
The Pope, at the King's Instance, bestowed the vacant
Bishoprick † on Cardinal *Wolsey*, and sent to *England*
the proper Instruments to confirm him therein.

The

* We find this Relation given
of the Town and *Wolsey's* Foun-
dion in *Camden's Britannia*.

‘ *Ipswich*, formerly *Gippewich*,
‘ a little City lowly seated, and
‘ as it were the Eye of the
‘ County of *Suffolk*, has a pretty
‘ good Harbour, and was for-
‘ merly well fortified with Dit-
‘ ches, &c. has a great Trade,
‘ and is very populous, being a-
‘ dorned with fourteen Parish
‘ Churches, and large stately
‘ Buildings. We pass by the
‘ four religious Houses, now de-
‘ molished, and the magnificent
‘ College begun by Cardinal
‘ *Wolsey*, a *Butcher's* Son, and
‘ born in this Place; whose vast
‘ Thoughts were always taken
‘ up with extravagant Projects.’

But the modern Account of
this Town is, *Ipswich* is seated
at the Distance of 12 Miles from
Harwich, upon the Edge of the
River which, taking a short Turn
to the West of the Town, forms
there a kind of Semicircle, or
Half-moon, upon the Bank of
the River. It is now a very neat
and well built Town, and much
larger than many Cities, and
carries on a considerable mari-
time Trade; and, though it is

but thinly inhabited, to what it
has been, yet, whoever looks into
the Churches and Meetings on a
Sunday, will not, even in this Par-
ticular, think so meanly of it as
some have done; for there are
now in this Town 12 Parish
Churches, out of the 14, besides
two Chapels in the Corporation-
Liberty, and Meeting-houses.
It has a very spacious Market-
place, in the midst of which is
a fair Cross adjoining to the But-
chers Shambles, very commodious
and commonly supposed to have
been built by Cardinal *Wolsey*.
[This is a Mistake, since it owes
its Original to a much later Date,
viz. the 40th Year of Queen *E-*
lizabeth.] The Town is governed
at this Day by two Bailiffs, a
Recorder, 12 Portmen, two Co-
roners, and 24 Common Coun-
cil-men, &c. and sends two
Members to Parliament, who at
present are Admiral *Vernon* and
Samuel Kent, Esq;

† This Bishoprick is of great
Antiquity, and the See has never
been removed from it since the
Foundation, which all the rest
have been in the South West
Parts. The City of *Winchester*,
formerly

The Cardinal upon obtaining this See,* quitted that of *Durham*, which was conferred on Dr. *Tunstal*,
Bi-

formerly the *Venta Belgarum* of the *Romans*, is pleasantly seated in a Valley on the Banks of a River. The late learned Bishop *Tanner* tells us, 'That the Monastery there was founded by King *Lucius*, which is now the Cathedral.'

Formerly the Bishops of *Winchester* had the Title of Earls of *Southampton*, and were so stiled in the new Statutes, of the Order of *St. George*, made by King *Henry* the VIIIth: But that Honour was taken away by the same Prince, for he created *William Fitz-Williams* Earl of *Southampton*, on the 18th of *October*, 1537.

The Cathedral besides the Bishoprick has been highly esteemed, and the Bishoprick was of so great Account for its large Privileges and Possessions, that King *Stephen's* Brother, when Bishop thereof, obtained a Faculty from the Pope to make it an Archbishoprick, and seven of the Suffragans of *Canterbury* were allotted thereunto; but this came to nothing. It is remarkable, that *William de Edington*, Bishop Anno 1343, and first Prelate of the Order of the Garter, being elected into the See of *Canterbury*, refused it, saying, *Though Canterbury had the highest Rack, yet Winchester had the deepest Manger.* But the Monastery fell with the rest, and was endowed at the general Suppression with 1507 *l.* 17s. 2d. yearly. After which the Site and great Part of the Revenues were settled by King

Henry, Anno Regni 32, on a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, six Minor Canons, ten Lay-clerks, eight Choristers, and other Members, when the Cathedral was refounded, and dedicated to the *Holy and Undivided Trinity*.

The City is a Place of but little more Trade, than what is occasioned by the Inhabitants of the City and neighbouring Villages: Here being neither Manufacture, nor Navigation, tho' it was once practicable and attempted; but, not being likely to answer the Expence, the Undertaking ceased. The Clergy are not only numerous, but generally very rich. It gives the Title of Marquis to the Duke of *Bolton*, and sends two Members to Parliament, who now are *William Paulet*, and *George Rodney Bridges*, Esqs; and the present Bishop is the Right Rev. and learned Dr. *Benjamin Hoadley*, who has highly distinguished himself in the Republick of Letters, by several elaborate Pieces, and is a great Encourager of the *Literati*.

* *The Pope to the Clergy of Winchester.*

CLEMENT, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to our beloved Sons the Clergy of the Diocese of Winchester, Health and Apostolick Benediction.

THIS Day, with the Advice of our Brethren, and by Authority Apostolick, we have made, constituted and deputed

Bishop of *London*, and his Eminence, immediately caused *Essex-place*, one of the Country Houses belonging

deputed our beloved Son, *Thomas*, Cardinal Priest of *St. Cecile*, called of *York*, &c. perpetual Administrator of the See of *Winchester*, during his Life, in Spirituals and Temporals, then destitute by the Death of *Richard*, of good Memory, late Bishop thereof, who paid the Debt of Nature out of the Court of *Rome*, of pastoral Comfort, fully committing the Care, Charge, and Administration of the said See, in the said Spirituals and Temporals to him, as will more amply appear in our Letters thereon.

Wherefore we command you severally by these Apostolick Letters, that admitting, with an agreeable Complacency, the said *Thomas*, Cardinal and Administrator, as the Father and Pastor of your Souls, ye shew him due and humble Obedience and Reverence, and with Meekness, receiving his Admonitions and Charges, you carefully and effectually fulfil the same; Otherwise we shall hold and confirm, with the Help of the Lord, the Sentence which the said *Thomas*, Cardinal, shall have justly pronounced against Rebels, inviolably to be observed, until condign Satisfaction be made. Given at *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1528, on the 6th of the *Ides* of *February*, and in the 6th of our Pontificate.

B. MOTTE.

VOL. IV.

Another of the same Purport was sent to the Vassals of *Winchester*.

As soon as these arrived, his Majesty confirmed the Restitution of the Temporalities of *Winchester* to the Cardinal, in the following Letters Patent.

The KING to his Escheats, in Southamptonsire and Winchester, greeting.

WHEREAS the Lord Chief Pontiff, with the Advice of his Brethren and Authority Apostolick, on the See of *Winchester's* having become vacant, by the Death of *Richard*, has made, constituted, and deputed the most Rev. Father in Christ, *Thomas*, by the Title of *St. Cecile*, Cardinal Priest, &c. to be perpetual Administrator during his Life of the See of *Winchester*, fully committing the Charge, Care and Administration of the Spirituals and Temporals of the said See to him, as appears by the Pope's Bulls directed to us on that Occasion, We, forasmuch as the said Cardinal has openly and expressly, in our Presence, protested against all and every the Words contained in the said Bull, which may be prejudicial to us and our Crown, and submitted himself in that Particular to our Favour, and being willing graciously to act in this Affair,

Our

D d

longing to the See of *Winchester*, to be repaired, and other Parts rebuilt, proposing to retreat thither, when the King resided at *Hampton-court*; and such Expedition was used in finishing this Seat, that it soon made a considerable Figure. In short, what remains of this Edifice shews the Cardinal's Judgment in *Architecture*; and, tho' *Essex-place* fell afterwards into *Lay-hands*, the Structure has been preserved with a great Exactness; infomuch, that it is at this Time in such beautiful Order, through the Means of the present noble Possessor, the Rt. Hon. *Henry Pelham*, Esq; Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, &c. that it is accounted a Building well worth the Sight and Observance of the Curious: Therefore we shall, when we mention the Cardinal's Retreat thither on his Fall, exhibit a View of the *East* and *West* Fronts thereof.

Sir John Russel returns to England.

Sir John Russel, who had been employed Abroad several Years, now returned to *England*, waited upon his Majesty, was most graciously received, and immediately entertained as one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, which was very acceptable to the Cardinal, who had a great Value for him.

As

• Ourselves have taken the due
• Fidelity of the said Cardinal,
• for the Temporals of the Bi-
• shoprick of *Winchester*, and we
• restore the Temporals thereof
• to him. Therefore we com-
• mand you to deliver the afore-
• said Temporals to the said Car-
• dinal with their Appurtenan-
• ces, in your Bailiwick, in the
• Form above mentioned; ex-
• cepting all Rights, &c. Wit-
• ness the King at *Westminster*,
• on the 6th of *April*.'

Orders of the same Nature were sent, bearing the same Date,

to the King's Escheats in the Counties of *Somerset*, *Dorset*, *Surrey*, *Oxfordshire*, and *Berkshire*; and the Knights, Free-men, and all others, holding of the See of *Winchester*, were ordered to comply with every thing concerning the said Cardinal, as their Bishop and Lord.

Besides the foregoing Authorities, the Cardinal obtained a Bull from the Pope, to hold the Temporalities of the See of *Winchester*, dated the 6th of *February*, 1528; likewise Letters Patent from the King, dated the 20th of *October*, for the same purpose.

As Sir *John* had married an Heirefs, the Cardinal, in Virtue of one of his high Offices, had the Care and Wardship of Sir *John*'s Children; and it appears from the following Letter, (the Original whereof being now in the *Exchequer Record-office*) that his Eminence had a more than ordinary Value for them, which will best speak for itself.

“ Please your Grace,

“ I HAVE received your Letter, dated the 19th
 “ Day of *June*, concerning the Death of my Son,
 “ *Browthen*, and of the sure Custody of his Sisters,
 “ and also the gracious Mind and Favour that your
 “ Grace beareth unto my said Son, and also for
 “ the Trust and Confidence your Grace bears me
 “ for the Custody of them; and at this Day I re-
 “ ceived another Letter from your Grace, dated the
 “ 1st Day of *July*, mentioning that your Grace un-
 “ derstandeth, by a Letter that I sent to Mr. *Arun-*
 “ *del*, and also by a Letter to Master *Hennes*, that great
 “ Suit is made to the King for them, and that the
 “ King thought they were his Wards. I shewed his
 “ Grace, that your Grace had them from Heir to
 “ Heir, wherewith his Grace was satisfied; and where-
 “ as your Grace writeth somewhat sharply, and in
 “ a manner half in a Distrust of me and my Wife,
 “ how that we would bestow the eldest without the
 “ Consent and Advisement of your Grace; I would
 “ be sorry that your Grace should have any such
 “ Opinion in me, seeing that I have borne my Heart
 “ and Service unto your Grace above all Men living,
 “ saving only the King. True it is, that the one of
 “ them is at her full Age, and your Grace may be
 “ well assured, that I would do nothing in that, till I
 “ know further of your Grace's Pleasure; but your
 “ Grace knoweth well, that I must needs speak in her
 “ Behalf, as I am bound unto; notwithstanding your
 “ Grace may be assured, I would be glad to do
 “ your Grace any Service that lieth in my Power:

“ But this Mistrust, that you have in me, cometh
“ not of your Grace only; and if it please your Grace
“ to call to your Remembrance a Year and a half
“ past, I moved your Grace for a Marriage for my
“ younger Daughter, for one *Dormerson*, what great
“ Offer he made; and at that Time your Grace was
“ contented, that I should go through withal: But
“ I staid always for two Causes; the one was, that
“ I would have been glad to have matched her with
“ some better Blood; and the other, if my Son *Brown-*
“ *then* should depart to God, as he is now, that
“ it should be a great Hindrance to your Grace. I
“ wrote to Master *Arundel*, that he should move
“ your Grace in my Behalf, that it would please
“ your Grace to be so good a Lord to me, to let
“ me have the youngest, paying as much as another:
“ I do desire her for nothing else, but for my Wife’s
“ Pleasure, for she would be very loth that another
“ should have her said Daughter afore her; for it
“ is all her Joy in this World: And also it is
“ mentioned in your said Letter, that I and my Wife
“ should have the Keeping of her said Daughter, so
“ that she be kept in clear Air, which we will
“ do to the best of our Powers: But, rather than
“ your Grace should have any Mistrust of me and
“ my Wife, I had rather they were out of my
“ Hands than otherwise. There is great Labour
“ made to the King, by Sir *Thomas Cheney* and
“ Sir *John Wallop*, and also to Mrs. *Anne*, for this
“ Matter, and the King was very desirous of the
“ same. Master *Kingston* desired me to move your
“ Grace to be a good Lord unto him, that he might
“ be Steward of the Bishop of *Worcester*’s Lands in
“ *Warwickshire*, for he thinketh it is in your Grace’s
“ Gift; and if your Grace did not bestow the same
“ otherwise, I humbly desire your Grace to give it
“ to him, whereby your Grace shall find him to do
“ your Grace what Service lies in his Power, which
“ to

“ to do I think he will be very glad, as knoweth
 “ God, who preserve your Grace in his blessed ten-
 “ der Tuition. Written at *Tylynganger*, the 2d Day
 “ of *July*.

“ *Your humble Servant,*

“ J. RUSSEL.”

It is not to be doubted, that after this Letter Mat-
 ters were settled to Sir *John* and his Lady's Satis-
 faction ; for that, it fully appears, even after the
 Cardinal's Disgrace, that Sir *John* retained to the
 last his Affection for *Wolsey*.

The Cardinal's Regard for the Safety and Prosperity of Individuals in private Families, and the publick Affairs both at Home and Abroad, did not engross his whole Attention, but he readily listened to the Representations from the Chiefs of the Religious Houses, in respect to any Misdeeds there committed ; and where the Grievances complained of were notorious, and in his Power, he caused them to be redressed, as many Letters now in being fully shew. He also very readily attended to such Applications that were made to him from any of the Cities and Corporations in the Kingdom, tending to preserve or renew any of their antient Rights and Privileges, or to the encouraging or retrieving their Trade and Manufactures ; the former he interceded with his Majesty to grant and protect, and the latter he encouraged to the utmost of his Power, as appears in many other Letters ; and, as a further Instance of the Cardinal's Respect for the City of *York*, take their own Acknowledgment, from an original Letter now in the *Record-office*.

*The Cardinal's
 further Care of
 his Fellow-sub-
 jects.*

“ *Most Reverend Father in God, our most special, sin-
 “ gular, good, and gracious Lord,*

“ **I**N our most humble Manner, with due Reve-
 “ verence, we recommend us unto your Grace,
 “ thank-

“ thanking your Grace, in our most humble Man-
 “ ner, for the great Pains and Goodness that your
 “ Grace hath oftentimes taken for the Preferment
 “ and maintaining your poor City of *York*, whereby
 “ we trust now, by God’s Grace and your most gra-
 “ cious Help, that it shall continue a City to our
 “ great Comforts ; and that it may stand with your
 “ gracious Pleasure, that we may conclude with the
 “ Earl of *Rutland*, by Writing, of the Certainty that
 “ we shall pay to his Lordship yearly for the Fee-
 “ farm Rent of the said City : And moreover, we
 “ beseech your Grace to be good and gracious unto
 “ us, touching the Grant for shipping *Wool* and
 “ *Fell* ; and we shall daily pray to the *Blessed Trinity*
 “ to preserve your said Grace in Honour long to con-
 “ tinue. At the said City of *York*, under the Seal
 “ of the Office of the Mayoralty of the same, the
 “ 27th Day of *January*,

“ By your Grace’s most humble and daily Beadf-
 “ men, the Mayor, and his Brethren, with the
 “ whole Commonalty of the City of *YORK*.”

Here we must observe, that, though *Rapin* and
 other Authors have been full of their malicious Re-
 flections against *Wolsey*, none of them have charged
 him with any Attempt to *corrupt* or *influence* Persons
 to send Representatives to Parliament of his Recom-
 mendation ; though it is plain, if he had been
 minded, he could have caused his own Friends and
 those depending on him, to have been elected in many
 Places ; on the contrary, he left them to chuse such
 Gentlemen as they thought proper, which we think
 is highly to his Honour. But, when *Cromwell* came
 into the Ministry, the Case was quite otherwise, for
 there are several Letters now in the *Exchequer Record-*
Office, that shew he actually directed many Places to
 elect for their Members such Persons that he recom-
 mended to them. See our Ild Vol. p. 261.

Now



To her Grace
MARY DUTCHESS of RICHMOND &c
This Plate of
QUEEN CATHARINE
is humbly Inscribed by her Graces
most obed.^t Serv.^t Joseph Grove

Now we come on to speak of the Proceedings relating to the King's Divorce from Queen *Catharine*, the opposing of which affected our Cardinal so much.

Proceedings relating to the Divorce.

The Writer of the *Church History*, after he has opened the Matter relating to the Divorce, says, "The Game being thus started, it was hotly pursued by various Persons, upon various Motives : "The *French*, the *Spaniards*, the *Germans*, the *Italians*, one way or other, found themselves concerned in the Controversy, as well as the *English* ; and they made their Attack with the joint Force of Politicks, under the various Shapes of Interest, Revenge, Conscience, and Passion."

The Bishop of *Rocheſter* early declared for the Validity of the Marriage, as appears from the following Letter.

Bishop FISHER to Cardinal WOLSEY.

"*Health to your Highness,*

"**H**AVING now consulted all those called mute Masters, which have reached my Hands, and diligently discussed the several Opinions and Reasonings, I find, as I lately wrote to your Sublimity, that they disagree very much on the Point in Question ; many asserting it to be contrary to divine Writ, while others confidently affirm it to be no ways repugnant to the Laws of God. And, having impartially weighed the Reasonings of both Parties, the Solution appears easy to me ; for all the Arguments, advanced by those who insist on its being unlawful by divine Right, may soon be set aside, while the Reasons of the other Side, who hold the Negative of the Prohibition, are not so easy, by any solid Arguing, to be exploded. If this be true, of which I have not the least Doubt, who then, considering the Fulness of the Power

" con-

“ conferred by CHRIST on the Pope, can deny that his
 “ Holiness may dispense, for some arduous Cause,
 “ with one to take to wife the Relict of his deceased
 “ Brother by whom he had no Issue. However,
 “ should I allow the Arguments on both Sides to be of
 “ equal Force, and none to out-weigh the other, but to
 “ stand as it were suspended in a Ballance, that both
 “ might be easily solved, yet what would always oblige
 “ me to be more inclined to acquiesce to the Pope’s
 “ Determination, is, that both Parties attribute the Ful-
 “ ness of his Highness’s Power, an Authority for
 “ interpreting the ambiguous Passages of Scripture,
 “ having first heard the Opinions of Divines and
 “ Civilians therein ; otherwise CHRIST would in vain
 “ have said to him, *Whatever ye bind on Earth shall*
 “ *be bound in Heaven.* Therefore, since it has plainly
 “ appeared, that the Pope has more than once de-
 “ clared, *That it was lawful, in the aforesaid Case, to*
 “ *grant a Dispensation to the second Brother,* this
 “ alone, if no further Motives had been advanced,
 “ but were equal in their Allegations, as I have
 “ said, would unavoidably engage my Assent.

“ But now, when I plainly see the Party which
 “ support the Pope’s Authority in this Affair, to
 “ have more efficacious Reasons on their Side ; be-
 “ sides, when I reflect with what Words and how
 “ amply the Power was conferred by CHRIST on
 “ the Pope ; and lastly, when I learn from the best
 “ of Testimonies, that such Dispensation was often
 “ recommended to take effect, I can no longer have
 “ any Scruple with regard to the Authority in
 “ Question, but that it is lawful for the Pope to
 “ dispence with one Brother to take to wife the Wi-
 “ dow of a deceased Brother, by whom he had no Issue.
 “ Your Highness has my Thoughts on this Affair
 “ in a few Words, to whom I wish long Life, in
 “ Prosperity and Safety.

“ JO. ROCHESTER.”

But

But the main Matter, says the *Church Historian*,
 “ was to know how the See of *Rome* stood affected,
 “ the Pope being regarded and applied to by all con-
 “ cerned, as the dernier Refort of the Controversy :
 “ Wherefore Dr. *Knight*, Secretary of State, and *Stephen*
 “ *Gardiner*, the Cardinal’s Secretary, were dispatched
 “ to make Interest with the Pope, to obtain what the
 “ King had now so much at heart ; besides, his Ma-
 “ jesty had other very able Persons, both at Home and
 “ Abroad, to manage the Cause in *Italy*, particularly
 “ Sir *Gregory Cassali*, * (who had great Power with the
 “ Court of *Rome*, was well skilled in Affairs, and,
 “ though a Foreigner, entirely in the King’s Interest)
 “ and Mr. *Peter Vannes*. These received Instruc-
 “ tions from Cardinal *Wolsey*, who was indefatigable
 “ in promoting every Thing that was agreeable to his
 “ Prince.”

But, notwithstanding what this learned Author has
 been pleased to assert, it will appear in the Sequel
 of this History, that the Cardinal was so far from
 coming up in every Point to his Master’s Desire, that
 he never gave any definitive Judgment in this Af-
 fair, though no one will doubt, if he had waved his
 own Opinion, it was in his Power.

On the other hand the Queen was not backward in
 acquainting the Emperor with the whole Proceedings,
 sending an express Messenger to him, in order that he
 might take care of her Interest at the Court of *Rome*.

Fox and *Gardiner*, having their Instructions, set for-
 ward for the Court of *Rome*, and on their Way thither
 sent and received divers Dispatches from his Emi-
 nence, relating to the Matters under their Care, as
 may be seen in the *Exchequer Record-office*. Being ar-
 rived

* The Family of the *Cassali*, being three Brothers, were enter-
 tained by the King as his A-
 gents in *Italy*, and other Places,
 who discharged their Trusts with
 great Honour.

rived at *Rome*, they delivered their Credentials, which were well received by his Holiness, who, to expedite their Business, shortly after appointed Cardinal *Campeius* to go over into *England*, that he, in Conjunction with Cardinal *Wolsey*, might sit in Judgment on the Dispute about the Divorce.

After *Campeius* was furnished with proper Instructions, he set out from *Rome*, in the Month of *July*, 1528, and in *October* following arrived in *London*, being six or seven Months after he was appointed Legate; and, whilst he was upon the Road, the Emperor's Ministers raised a fresh Obstacle against the Divorce.

Before the Legatine Court sat in *England*, Dr. *Knight*, Secretary of State, Mr. *Stephen Gardiner*, and Dr. *Fox* returned to *England*, having left the Business relating to the Divorce, to be transacted at *Rome* by Sir *Gregory Cassali*, and Mr. *Peter Vannes*, the King's Ambassador there: And his Majesty was so well pleased with *Gardiner* and *Fox*'s Behaviour at *Rome*, that he took them both into his Service, and made *Stephen* one of his Secretaries; but both attended him wherever he resided.

The renowned *Shakespeare* gives us this Scene * relative to the Steps taken previous to the Divorce.

As

* *Enter the Lord Chamberlain, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk.*

Nor. Well met, my Lord Chamberlain!

Cham. Good Day to both your Graces.

Suff. How is the King employ'd?

Cham. I left him private,
Full of sad Thoughts and Troubles.

Nor. What's the Cause?

Cham. It seems the Marriage with his Brother's Wife
Has crept too near his Conscience.

Suff. No; his Conscience
Has crept too near another Lady.

Nor. 'Tis so;

This is the Cardinal's doing; the King-cardinal,
That blind Priest, like the eldest Son of Fortune,
Turns what he list. The King will know him one Day.

Suff.

As soon as the News of *Campeius's* Arrival in *England* was known at *London*, great Preparations were made

E e 2

Suff. Pray God he do ! he'll never know himself else.

Nor. How holily he works in all his Business,
And with what Zeal ! for now he has crackt the League
'Tween us and the Emperor, the Queen's great Nephew,
He dives into the King's Soul, and there scatters
Doubts, Dangers, Wringing of the Conscience,
Fears and Despair, and all these for his Marriage,
And, out of all these to restore the King,
He counsels a Divorce, a Loss of her,
That, like a Jewel, has hung twenty Years
About his Neck, yet never lost her Lustre ;
Of her that loves him with that Excellence,
That Angels love good Men with ; even of her,
That, when the greatest Stroke of Fortune falls,
Will bless the King : And is not this Course pious ?

Cham. Heav'n keep me from such Counsel ! 'tis most true,
This News is ev'ry where, every Tongue speaks it,
And every true Heart weeps for't. All, that dare
Look into these Affairs, see his main End,
The *French* King's Sister. Heav'n will one Day open
The King's Eyes, that so long have slept upon
This bold, bad Man.

Suff. And free us from his Slavery.

Nor. We had need pray, and heartily, for Deliverance ;
Or th'imperious Man will work us all
From Princes into Pages ; all Men's Honours
Lie like one Lump before him, to be fashion'd
Into what Pitch he please.

Suff. For me, my Lords,
I love him not, nor fear him : There's my Creed :
As I am made without him, * so I'll stand,
If the King please ; his Curses and his Blessings
Touch me alike ; their Breath I'll not believe in.
I knew him, and I know him ; so I leave him
To him that made him proud, the Pope.

Nor. Let's in ;
And, with some other Business, put the King
From these sad Thoughts that work too much upon him.
My Lord, you'll bear us Company !

Cham. Excuse me,
The King has sent me other-where ; besides,
You'll

* Yet he acknowledges in a Letter, that his chief Friend, next the King, was the Cardinal. See our Ild Vol. p. 258.

made to receive him ; but, being much afflicted with the Gout, he chose to come to Town privately ; so that,

You'll find it a most unfit Time to disturb him :

Hea'th to Your Lordships!

[*Exit Lord Chamberlain.*]

Nor. Thanks, my good Lord Chamberlain.

The Scene draws, and discovers the King sitting and reading pensively.

Suff. How sad he looks ! sure he is much afflicted.

King. Who's there ? ha !

Nor. Pray God he be not angry.

King. Who's there, I say ? how dare you thrust yourselves Into my private Meditations ?

Who am I ? ha !

Nor. A gracious King, that pardons all Offences
Malice ne'er meant : Our Breach of Duty this Way
Is Business of th' State ; in which we come
To know your royal Pleasure.

King. Ye are too bold !

Go to ; I'll make ye know your Times of Business :
Is this an Hour for temporal Affairs ? ha !

Enter Wolsey, and Campeius, the Pope's Legate, with a Commission.

Who's there ! my good Lord Cardinal ? O my *Wolsey* !

The Quiet of my wounded Conscience ;

Thou art a Cure fit for the King. You're welcome,

Most learned rev'rend Sir, into our Kingdom,

Use us, and it ; My good Lord, have great Care

I be not found a Talker.

Wol. Sir, you cannot :

I would your Grace would give us but an Hour
Of private Conference.

King. We are busy ; go.

Nor. This Priest has no Pride in him !

Suff. Not to speak of :

I would not be so sick though for his Place :

But this cannot continue.

Nor. If it do,

I'll venture one Heave at him.

Suff. I another.

[*Exeunt Norfolk and Suffolk.*]

Wol. Your Grace has given a President of Wisdom

Above all Princes, in committing freely

Your Scruple to the Voice of *Christendom* :

Who can be angry now ? What Envy reach you ?

The

that, on the 9th of *October*, he took Water at *St. Mary Overy's*, and landed at *Bath-place*, where he was visited by *Wolsey* and divers of the Nobility and Gentry. After

ter

The *Spaniard*, ty'd by Blood and Favour to her,
Must now confess, if they have any Goodness,
The Trial just and noble. All the Clerks,
I mean the learned ones in *Christian Kingdoms*,
Have their free Voices. *Rome*, the Nurse of Judgment,
Invited by your Noble Self, hath sent
One gen'ral Tongue unto us, this good Man,
This just and learned Priest, Cardinal *Campeius*,
Whom once more I present unto your Highness.

King. And once more, in my Arms, I bid him Welcome,
And thank the holy Conclave for their Loves,
They've sent me such a Man I would have wish'd for.

Cam. Your Grace must needs deserve all Strangers Loves,
You are so noble; to your Highness's Hand
I tender my Commission, by whose Virtue
(The Court of *Rome* commanding) you, my Lord,
Cardinal of *York*, are join'd with me, their Servant,
In the impartial Judging of this Business.

King. Two equal Men! the Queen shall be acquainted
Forthwith for what you come. Where's *Gardiner*?

Wol. I know your Majesty has always lov'd her
So dear in Heart, not to deny her what
A Woman of less Place might ask by Law,
Scholars allow'd freely to argue for her,

King. Ay, and the best she shall have; and my Favour
To him that does best, God forbid else. Cardinal,
Pr'ythee call *Gardiner* to me, my new Secretary,
I find him a fit Fellow.

Enter Gardiner.

Wol. Give me your Hand; much Joy and Favour to you;
You are the King's now.

Gard. But to be commanded
For ever by your Grace, whose Hand has rais'd me.

King. Come hither, *Gardiner*! [Walks and whispers.
Deliver this with Modesty to the Queen. [Exit *Gardiner*.

The most convenient Place that I can think of,
For such Receipt of Learning, is *Black-fryars*:
There ye shall meet about this weighty Business.

My *Wolsey*, see it furnish'd. O! my Lord,
Would it not grieve an able Man to leave
So sweet a Bedfellow? But Conscience,— Conscience—
O! 'tis a tender Place, and I must leave her!

[*Exeunt*.

ter he was a little recovered, though not able to walk, he was carried in a Chair by four Persons, and introduced to the King's Presence by the Cardinal of *York*, and both Cardinals being seated on the Right-hand of the King's Throne, *Franscesco, Campeius's* Secretary, addressed himself to the King in *Latin*, in which he related "with what Cruelty the Emperor's Soldiers
 " had handled the Pope, the Tyranny they had shew-
 " ed to the Cardinals and Priests, the Sacrilege and
 " Spoil they had committed in *St. Peter's* Church;
 " how they had violated Virgins, ravished Men's
 " Wives, spoiled, robbed, and tormented all the *Ro-*
 " *mans* and Inhabitants in the City of *Rome*; then re-
 " cited what Friendship the College of *Rome* had met
 " with at the Royal Hands of the Kings of *England*
 " and *France*, in the Time of that Tribulation; that,
 " if they had not joined together, the City of *Rome*
 " with all their Governors had been brought to Ruin:
 " For which Pope *Clement*, and all his College of Car-
 " dinals, the Senators, with all the Citizens, rendered
 " to the King their hearty Thanks, and promised him
 " their Love, Favour, and Amity perpetual."

To this Speech *Dr. Fox*, Provost of *Cambridge*, made answer, and as to the first Point declared,
 " That the King much lamented to hear his Friends,
 " or any other *Christian* Men, should be handled with
 " Tyranny:" To the second, " That the King had
 " done but the Duty of a *Christian* Prince, to relieve
 " his Friends in Distress, for which he desired that the
 " whole City of *Rome* would give Thanks to God,
 " and not to him."

Whilst Matters were preparing for the Trial *Campeius* had an Audience of the Queen, when he took Occasion to acquaint her of the Danger of the present Dispute, and, endeavouring to persuade her to retire to a Monastery, seemed to charge her with some unseasonable Freedoms and Misconduct in her Behaviour; for that, since the granting of the Legate's Commission, she was

was observed to allow Dancing and Court-diversions more than before, and to appear in Publick with an unusual Air of Chearfulness and Spirit ; whereas the Condition of her Circumstances ought to have made her more grave, and recollect, that the Perplexity of the King's Conscience, not to mention other gloomy Appearances, were no Motives for Satisfaction.

The Queen, by no means pleased with this Discourse, replied positively, *That she was resolved to stand by the Marriage allowed by the Apostolick See* : So that *Campeius*, finding there was no good to be done with the Queen, took his Leave, and returned to his Majesty, to acquaint him with what had passed.

Stow says, “ The common People talked largely in respect to *Campeius's* Arrival in *England*, by saying, the King wanted another Wife, and had sent for this Legate in order to get rid of his Queen : Particularly the Women charged him with Incontinency, and that there was more *Passion* than *Conscience* in this Application.”

The King, hearing of the daily Grumblings of his People, thought proper to call before him the great Men of his Kingdom, both Spiritual and Temporal, besides others of inferior Degree were admitted ; to whom he made the following Speech.

* *The King's Oration, spoken on the Ides of November, 1528.*

“ VENERABLE and dear Assembly of Prelates,
 “ Peers and Counsellors, which the common
 “ Care of Administring well for the Republick and our
 “ Kingdom has brought together. It is no Secret
 “ to you, that, by Divine Providence, we have these
 “ twenty Years† almost governed this our Realm with
 “ so much Happiness, that in all that Time it was free
 “ from hostile Incurfions ; and we, in those Wars
 “ which

* *Mr. Parker's Ant. Brit. p. 475.*

† Eighteen of which the *Cardinal* had the Conducting of Affairs.

“ which we had undertaken, always came off victo-
 “ rious ; and though we may justly glory, that the
 “ Subject never reaped greater Tranquillity, Riches,
 “ or Honours, in former Ages, under the Reigns of
 “ our Predecessors and Progenitors, the Kings of *Eng-*
 “ *land*, than in our Days : Yet, when the Thoughts
 “ of this Glory and Death meet together, we tremble,
 “ lest, by our Death, without lawful Issue, you should
 “ undergo Calamities greater than the Advantages
 “ received in our Life-time. The Memory of those
 “ bloody Times must be still fresh in the Minds of
 “ some of you, when *Richard* the III^d brought upon
 “ the Carpet and disputed the Title of our Grandfire,
 “ *Edward* the IVth, by the Mother’s Side, and deprived
 “ his Heirs and Issue of the Kingdom and Life. The
 “ dire Slaughter of the People, while the Houses of
 “ *York* and *Lancaster* contended for the Kingdom and
 “ Empire, are but too well known in History ; and, if
 “ the Marriage lawfully contracted between *Henry* the
 “ VIIth, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, our renowned Pa-
 “ rents, should be extinguished in us, and the Royal
 “ Offspring, which God forbid, of our Marriage, which
 “ ought afterwards lawfully to reign, should not be
 “ born, this Kingdom may waste itself with civil or
 “ intestine Troubles, or fall into the Hands and Pos-
 “ session of Foreigners : For though we have had the
 “ Lady *Mary*, singular both in Beauty and Shape,
 “ which was of great Comfort to us, by the most
 “ noble Lady *Catherine*, yet we have been lately in-
 “ formed, by pious and learned Divines, that we had
 “ married her who was formerly the Wife of Prince
 “ *Arthur*, our Brother ; that our Marriage was prohi-
 “ bited by Divine Writ ; and that the Issue of such
 “ Marriage would not be esteemed legitimate : And
 “ that which gives us much greater Pain and Torment
 “ is, having sent Ambassadors last Year to negotiate
 “ a Marriage between the Duke of *Orleans* and our
 “ Daughter *Mary*, with *Francis* King of *France*, it
 “ was

“ was answered by one of his Counsellors, *That, be-*
 “ *fore the treating of such an Affair, whether Mary was*
 “ *a legitimate Child should be first enquired into ? It be-*
 “ *ing evident, added he, that she was begotten of the Lady*
 “ *Catherine, his Brother's Relict, and that such a Mar-*
 “ *riage is, by Divine Right, prohibited.*

“ With what Fear and Horror has this Speech dis-
 “ turbed our Mind ! for the Matter imports no less
 “ than the Hazard of eternal Salvation both of Body
 “ and Soul, and with what perplexed Thoughts does
 “ it possess our Conscience ! we are persuaded you can-
 “ not be ignorant ; you, whose Lives and Fortunes
 “ would be in Danger, but much more the Loss of
 “ Souls, if you did not apply proper Remedies.
 “ This one Thing, which, witness God, we affirm on
 “ our Royal Word, pushes us on, that by our Am-
 “ bassadors we should seek the Opinions of the most
 “ learned Divines throughout the whole *Christian*
 “ *World*, and send for the *Roman Pontiff's* Legate, in
 “ order to pronounce a true and just Sentence in so
 “ great a Cause, that afterward we may be able to
 “ live with a calm and safe Conscience, in lawful Ma-
 “ trimony : And, if it should clearly and manifestly
 “ appear by Holy Writ, that the conjugal State, in
 “ which we have lived almost twenty Years, be per-
 “ mitted by Divine Right, nothing shall be more
 “ wished for or agreeable to us, as well for the Tran-
 “ quillity of our Conscience, as the lovely Qualities
 “ with which the Queen is endowed and adorned.
 “ For, besides her being of royal and noble Birth,
 “ attended with so much conjugal Duty and Affabi-
 “ lity, together with other Ornaments of her Mind,
 “ and Qualities which illustrate Nobility, that she
 “ has seemed to us to have so far excelled all other
 “ Women these twenty Years, that, were we now
 “ single and free from Marriage, and that it was
 “ lawful by Divine Right, we would, preferably to all
 “ other Women, join her by a lasting and firm Con-

“ tract of Marriage to us. But if, by this Sentence,
 “ our Marriage should be declared prohibited by Di-
 “ vine Right, and to have been null and void from
 “ the Beginning, this our unhappy Case is to be de-
 “ plored and lamented by a Flood of Tears, not only
 “ because I am to be separated from the Society and
 “ Company of so illustrious and lovely a Woman, but
 “ much more so, for that, being deceived by the Shew
 “ or Likeness of Matrimony, we enjoyed one another
 “ for many Years in Embraces more than vitious,
 “ without any lawful Issue, upon our Demise, to suc-
 “ ceed in this renowned Kingdom.

“ These are our Cares, these our Solitudes, which
 “ Day and Night vex and torment our Mind and
 “ Conscience; for the removing and dispersing of
 “ which, we seek for a seasonable Remedy from this
 “ Legation and Judgment: Therefore we entreat you,
 “ in whose Honour and Fidelity we have great Confi-
 “ dence, that you declare our true and genuine In-
 “ tention and Meaning with regard to this Affair,
 “ which you have had now from our own Discourse,
 “ to the People; and that you excite them to join in
 “ Prayer with us, for the Appearance of Truth in
 “ the Sentence, which has been this many Years
 “ wrapped up in Darkness, whereby Peace and Tran-
 “ quillity may be restored to our *troubled Conscience*.”

The Speech was differently relished, some pitied
 the King, but the Queen's Case had much more Com-
 passion; some ambitious People, who, its like, had the
 Prospect of mending their Fortunes, were pleased to
 see the Waters disturbed, applauded the King's Pro-
 ceedings, and pretended that his Highness's Resolu-
 tions were very pious, and serviceable to the Publick.

In the Course of these Transactions, several Appli-
 cations had been made to the Court of *Rome*, by *Fox*,
Gardiner, and Sir *Gregory Cassali*, to obtain a *Decretal*
Bull to ascertain the Divorce, in Case the Legatine
 Court

Court should be of Opinion his Majesty's first Marriage was invalid, his Holiness accordingly directed it to be made out, and committed it to the Trust of Cardinal *Campeius*; but as he did not, when requested, produce it, Complaint was made to the Court of *Rome*, in a Letter from *Wolsey* to *Cassali*, dated *Dec.* the 17th, 1528; to which he replied, "That he had attended his Holiness on the Complaint, who delivered for Answer, — Had not his Request been out of the common Course it should have been complied with at first, without giving the King and him so much Trouble; and bid him not insist any further upon it." However, the Application had this Effect, *Campeius* gave the King a Sight of the Decretal Bull, but would not be prevailed with to leave it for a Minute either with his Highness or *Wolsey*; and the Pope, for fear of worse Consequences, and to keep fair with the *English* Court, sent *Francis Campana* to *England* to give the King Expectations of further Favours from *Rome*, and to deliver the following Letter to the Cardinal.

The POPE's Letter to WOLSEY, for giving Credence to CAMPANA.

" *Beloved Son,*

" **W**E have not judged it convenient to answer by Letters, the Matters lately laid before us by the Ambassadors of the King, our most beloved Son in CHRIST; wherefore, we have sent our trusty Friend, *Francis Campana*, over, from whom his Serenity and you may fully understand our Thoughts, as well with regard to the Peace of all *Christendom*, as his Majesty's private Affair, which we have very much at heart; and we recommend it to your Care, to persuade his Majesty as well as yourself, that we have, and shall proceed with paternal Benevolence toward his Serenity; and that whatever We have hitherto signified to him has

“ flowed from a Motive of Affection, which our be-
 “ loved Sons Cardinal *Campeius* and the said *Francis*,
 “ will deliver more at large to you, to whom we de-
 “ sire you would give most ample Credit. Given at
 “ Rome the 15th of *February*,

“ CLEMENT, with his own Hand.”

It seems plain *Campana's* Coming and smooth Mes-
 sage gave but little Satisfaction ; yet the Preparations
 for opening the Legatine Court was carried on with
 great Diligence, though it was some time before
 they were compleated.

*The Legatine
 Court opened.*

First Day.

1529.

The Measures being now adjusted for
 hearing the Cause relating to the Divorce,
 the Legate's Court was prepared at *Black-
 fryars*, and the King having, by a War-
 rant under his Great Seal, given them Leave to exe-
 cute their * Commission, they sat on the 31st of
May, which was exhibited by *Longland*, Bishop of
Lincoln.

CLE-

* Concerning this Court hear *Shakespear*.

S C E N E.

*Trumpets, Sonnet, and Cornets. Enter two Vergers, with short Silver
 Wands ; next them two Scribes in the Habits of Doctors ; after them,
 the Bishop of Canterbury alone ; after him, the Bishops of Lincoln,
 Ely, Rochester, and St. Asaph ; next them, with some small Di-
 stance, follows a Gentleman bearing the Purse with the Great Seal,
 and the Cardinal's Hat ; then two Priests, bearing each a Silver
 Cross ; then a Gentleman-usher bare-headed, accompanied with a
 Serjeant at Arms, bearing a Mace ; then two Gentlemen bearing
 two Silver Pillars ; after them, side by side, the two Cardinals,
 two Noblemen with the Sword and Mace. The King takes Place un-
 der the Cloth of State ; the two Cardinals sit under him as Judges.
 The Queen takes Place some Distance from the King. The Bishops
 place themselves on each side the Court in Manner of a Consistory ; be-
 low them, the Scribes. The Lords sit next the Bishops. The rest
 of the Attendants stand in convenient Order about the Court.*

Wol. **W** Hilst our Commission from Rome is read,
 Let Silence be commanded.

King.

CLEMENT the VIIth's Commission for trying the Cause
of the DIVORCE.

“ Clement, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to
“ our beloved Sons, Thomas of St. Cecile and York,
“ and Laurence Campeius of St. Mary beyond Ty-
“ ber, Cardinal Priests, Legates a Latere, from us
“ and the Apostolick See, in the Kingdom of England,
“ Health and Apostolick Benediction.

“ WE have often heard, from Persons worthy
“ of Credit, of the Dispute lately raised, re-
“ lating to the Validity of that Marriage which
“ Henry, our most beloved Son, King of England,
“ and Lord of Ireland, acknowledges to have been
“ contracted and consummated with our most beloved
“ Daughter, Queen Catherine, in Virtue of a Dispen-
“ sation from the apostolick See, which has not as yet
“ been brought before the Tribunal of the Church ;
“ but, as the Issue, which Justice and Equity shall
“ give to so great and important a Cause, keeps the
“ Minds

King. What's the need ?

It hath already publickly been read,
And on all sides th' Authority allow'd,
You may then spare that Time.

Wol. Be't so, proceed.

Scribe. Say, Henry, King of England, come into the Court.

Cryer. Henry, King of England, &c.

King. Here !

Scribe. Say, Katherine, Queen of England, come into the Court.

Cryer. Katherine, Queen of England, &c.

[The Queen makes no Answer, rises out of her Chair, goes about the
Court, comes to the King, and kneels at his Feet, then speaks ;]

Sir, I desire you do me Right and Justice,
And to bestow your Pity on me ; for
I am a most poor Woman, and a Stranger,
Born out of your Dominions ; having here
No Judge indiff'rent, and no more Assurance
Of equal Friendship and Proceeding. Alas ! Sir,
In what have I offended you ? what Cause
Hath my Behaviour given to your Displeasure ?
That thus you should proceed to put me off,
And take your good Grace from me. Heaven witness,

I've

“ Minds of all the People there in such Suspence, that
 “ it requires a mature and deliberate Definition, and
 “ to be managed with the utmost Nicety and Care:
 “ Wherefore, We, whom God hath appointed the
 “ Servant of Servants, to administer Justice in Judg-
 “ ment, and Truth impartially to all, not being able
 “ of ourselves to examine and come at the Truth
 “ of the Fact; and considering besides, that the
 “ Fact, which gives Birth to this Affair, may be
 “ known with greater Truth and Expedition there
 “ than

I've been to you a true and humble Wife,
 At all times to your Will conformable;
 Ever in fear to kindle your Dislike,
 Yea, subject to your Count'nance, glad or sorry,
 As I saw it inclined. When was the Hour
 I ever contradicted your Desire?
 Or made it not mine too? Which of your Friends
 Have not I strove to love, although I knew
 He were mine Enemy? What Friend of mine,
 That had to him deriv'd your Anger, did I
 Continue in my Liking? Nay, give notice
 He was from thence discharg'd? Sir, call to mind,
 That I have been your Wife, in this Obedience,
 Upward of twenty Years, and have been blest
 With many Children by you. If in the Course
 And Process of the Time you can report,
 And prove it too, against mine Honour aught,
 My Bond of Wedlock, or my Love and Duty
 Against your sacred Person; in God's Name
 Turn me away, and let the foul'st Contempt
 Shut Door upon me, and so give me up
 To the sharpest Kind of Justice. Please you, Sir,
 The King your Father was reputed for
 A Prince most prudent, of an excellent
 And unmatched Wit and Judgment. *Ferdinand*,
 My Father, King of *Spain*, was reckon'd one
 The wisest Princes, that there had reign'd, by many
 A Year before. It is not to be question'd,
 That they had gathered a wise Council to them
 Of every Realm, that did debate this Business,
 Who deem'd our Marriage lawful. Wherefore humbly,
 Sir, I beseech you, spare me, 'till I may
 Be by my Friends in *Spain* advis'd; whose Counsel
 I will implore. If not, i'th' Name of God,

Your

“ than here, and desiring to put an End to all Matter
 “ of Discord in that Kingdom, which has been always
 “ most obsequious to the Apostolick See, that it may
 “ enjoy that agreeable Concord of Peace and happy
 “ Harmony of Charity to latest Posterity, and firm-
 “ ly, validly, and maturely to determine the Cause
 “ relating to the aforesaid Marriage in Judgment,
 “ Justice, and Truth, as it is most expedient, we com-
 “ mit it to your Circumspection to hear all and singu-
 “ lar the Matters concerning the Validity or Nullity
 “ of

Your Pleasure be fulfill'd.

Wol. You have here, Lady,
 (And of your Choice) these rev'rend Fathers, Men
 Of singular Integrity and Learning,
 Yea, the Elect of the Land, who are assembled
 To plead your Cause. It shall be therefore bootless
 That longer you defer the Court, as well
 For your own Quiet, as to rectify
 What is unsettled in the King.

Cam. His Grace
 Hath spoken well and justly ; therefore, Madam,
 It's fit this royal Session do proceed,
 And that without Delay their Arguments
 Be now produced, and heard.

Queen. Lord Cardinal,
 To you I speak.

Wol. Your Pleasure, Madam.

Queen. Sir,
 I am about to weep ; but thinking that
 We are a Queen, or long have dream'd so, certain
 The Daughter of a King, my Drops of Tears
 I'll turn to Sparks of Fire.

Wol. Be patient yet —

Queen. I will, when you are humble ; nay, before,
 Or God will punish me. I do believe,
 Induc'd by potent Circumstances, that
 You are mine Enemy, and make my Challenge,
 You shall not be my Judge : For it is you
 Have blown this Coal betwixt my Lord and me,
 Which God's Dew quench ! therefore I say again,
 I utterly abhor, yea, from my Soul
 Refuse you for my Judge, whom yet once more

I hold

“ of the said Marriage, or Apostolick Dispensation,
 “ which shall be produced or exhibited before you,
 “ and to take Cognizance thereof, and of all other
 “ Things, Allegations, and Reasons, relating and ap-
 “ pertaining to the said Marriage and Dispensation,
 “ and to proceed summarily and plainly in the Affair
 “ of the Marriage and Validity of the Dispensation,
 “ the Parties being cited, without Noise or Bustle,
 “ or Shape of Judgment: And to pronounce and de-
 “ clare the apostolical Dispensations as valid, effectual,
 “ suf-

I hold my most malicious Foe, and think not
 At all a Friend to Truth.

Wol. I do profess

You speak not like yourself, whoever yet
 Have stood to Charity, and display'd th'Effects
 Of Disposition gentle, and of Wisdom
 O'er-topping Woman's Power. Madam, you wrong me,
 I have no Spleen against you, nor Injustice
 For you, or any; how far I've proceeded,
 Or how far further shall, is warranted
 By a Commission from the Consistory,
 Yea, the whole Consistory of *Rome*. You charge me,
 That I have blown this Coal; I do deny it.
 The King is present; if't be known to him
 That I gainsay my Deed, how may he wound,
 And worthily, my Falshood? yea, as much
 As you have done my Truth. But if he know
 That I am free of your Report, he knows
 I am not of your Wrong. Therefore in him
 It lies to cure me, and the Cure is to
 Remove these Thoughts from you. The which before
 His Highness shall speak in, I do beseech
 You, gracious Madam, to unthink your speaking,
 And say no more.

Queen. My Lord, my Lord, I am
 A simple Woman, much too weak t'oppose
 Your Cunning. You are meek, and humble-mouth'd;
 You sign your Place and Calling, in full seeming,
 With Meekness and Humility; but your Heart
 Is cramm'd with Arrogance, with Spleen and Pride.
 You have, by Fortune and his Highness's Favours,
 Gone slightly o'er low Steps, and now are mounted
 Where Pow'rs are your Retainers; and your Words,

Do-

“ sufficient, or null, ineffectual, insufficient, surrep-
 “ titious, arreptitious, or in any other Manner ener-
 “ vated, if so you shall find them, and to be held
 “ for such : Likewise to declare the said Marriage,
 “ if required by either of the Parties, to be valid, just,
 “ lawful, and firm, as the Law shall persuade you in
 “ your own Conscience ; or, on the contrary, to be,
 “ and to have been invalid, unjust, illegal, and null :
 “ And if the Dispensation should be disallowed, and
 “ the Marriage declared null, judicially to give a
 “ defi-

Domesticks to you, serve your Will as't please,
 Yourself pronounce their Office. I must tell you,
 You tender more your Person's Honour than
 Your high Profession spiritual. That again
 I do refuse you for my Judge, and here
 Before you all, appeal unto the Pope
 To bring my whole Cause 'fore his Holiness,
 And to be judg'd by him.

[She court'sies to the King, and offers to depart.]

Cam. The Queen is obstinate,
 Stubborn to Justice, apt t'accuse it, and
 Disdainful to be try'd by't ; 'tis not well.
 She's going away.

King. Call her again.

Cryer. Katherine, Queen of England, come into the Court !

Usher. Madam, you are call'd back.

Queen. What need you note it ? Pray you keep your Way !
 When you are call'd, return. Now the Lord help !
 They vex me past my Patience—— Pray pass on ;
 I will not tarry ; no, nor ever more
 Upon this Business my Appearance make
 In any of their Courts.

[Exeunt Queen and her Attendants.]

King. Go thy ways, Kate !
 That Man i'th' World, who shall report he has
 A better Wife, let him in nought be trusted,
 For speaking false in that. Thou art alone
 (If thy rare Qualities, sweet Gentleness,
 Thy Meekness Saint-like, Wife-like Government,
 Obeying in commanding, and thy Parts
 Sovereign and pious, could but speak thee out)
 The Queen of earthly Queens. She's noble born,

“ definitive Sentence of Divorce summarily and plain-
 “ ly without Bustle or Shape of Judgment. Lastly,
 “ to grant to the said King *Henry* and Queen *Cathe-*
 “ *rine* Leave and Faculty in the Lord, to change to
 “ other Vows. Granting and committing unto you
 “ jointly, and, either of you refusing, or being other-
 “ wise prevented, separately, all our Authority over
 “ all the Degrees and Jurisdiction of the Person,
 “ Non-compliance and Appeals excluded. We also,
 “ out of our certain Knowledge, appoint and de-
 “ pute

And, like her true Nobility, she has
 Carried herself towards me.

Wol. Most gracious Sir,
 In humblest Manner I require your Highness,
 That it shall please you to declare, in Hearing
 Of all these Ears, (for where I am robb'd and bound,
 There must I be unloos'd, although not there
 At once and fully satisfy'd) If I
 Did broach this Business to your Highness, or
 Laid any Scruple in your Way, which might
 Induce you to the Question on't; or ever
 Have to you, but with Thanks to God for such
 A royal Lady, spake one the least Word,
 That might be prejudice of her present State,
 Or Touch of her good Person?

King. My Lord Cardinal,
 I do excuse you; yea, upon mine Honour,
 I free you from't: You are not to be taught,
 That you have many Enemies, that know not
 Why they are so; but, like the Village-curs,
 Bark when their Fellows do. By some of these
 The Queen is put in Anger; y're excus'd:
 But you will be more justify'd? you ever
 Have wish'd the sleeping of this Business, never
 Desir'd it to be stirr'd; but oft have hindered
 The Passages made tow'rds it. On my Honour
 I speak, my good Lord Cardinal, to this Point;
 And thus far clear him. Now, what mov'd me to't,
 I will be bold with Time and your Attention:
 Then mark th' Inducement; Thus it came; give Heed to't.
 My Conscience first receiv'd a Tenderness,
 Scruple and Prick, on certain Speeches utter'd
 By th' Bishop of *Bayon*, then *French* Ambassador,

Who

“pute you in our Stead, so that you may jointly, or
 “either of you refusing, or otherwise impeded, se-
 “parately execute, and expedite every Thing con-
 “tained in this Commission, and bring it to a final
 “Determination, with the same Power and Autho-
 “rity as if done by ourselves. We also grant unto you,
 “out of our certain Knowledge, by Apostolick Au-
 “thority, and the Tenor of these Presents, likewise
 “Power and Authority to declare, pronounce, and
 “publish the Offspring of the first Marriage, if it
 “should

G g 2

Who had been hither sent on the debating
 A Marriage 'twixt the Duke of Orleans and
 Our Daughter *Mary*: I'th' Progress of this Business,
 Ere a determinate Resolution, he
 (I mean the Bishop) did require a Respite,
 Wherein he might the King his Lord advertise,
 Whether our Daughter were legitimate;
 Respecting this our Marriage with the Dowager,
 Sometime our Brother's Wife. This Respite shook
 The Bosom of my Conscience, enter'd me,
 Yea, with a splitting Power; and made to tremble
 The Region of my Breast, which forc'd such Way,
 That many maz'd Considerings did throng,
 And prest it with this Caution. First, methought
 I stood not in the Smile of Heav'n, which had
 Commanded Nature, that my Lady's Womb
 (If it conceiv'd a Male-child by me) should
 Do no more Offices of Life to't, than
 The Grave does to the Dead; for her Male-issue,
 Or died where they were made, or shortly after
 This World had air'd them. Hence I took a Thought,
 This was a Judgment on me, that my Kingdom
 (Well worthy the best Heir o'th' World) should not
 Be glad in one by me. Then follows, that
 I weigh'd the Danger which my Realms stood in
 By this my Issue's Fail, and that gave to me
 Many a groaning Throe: thus hurling in
 The wild Sea of my Conscience, I did steer
 Towards this Remedy, whereon we are
 Now present here together; that's to say,
 I meant to rectify my Conscience, (which
 I then did feel full sick, and yet not well)
 By all the rev'rend Fathers of the Land,

And

“ should be found expedient, as well as that which
 “ may be had by a second Marriage, legitimate ;
 “ and the Legitimacy of both to be supported and
 “ fortified by a perpetual Decree or Sanction, in the
 “ most strong and effectual Manner and Form,
 “ that

And Doctors learn'd. First I began in private
 With you, my Lord of *Lincoln* ; you remember
 How under my Oppression I did reel,
 When I first mov'd you.

Lin. Very well, my Liege.

King. I have spoke long ; be pleas'd yourself to say
 How far you satisfy'd me.

Lin. Please your Highness,
 The Question did at first so stagger me,
 Bearing a State of mighty Moment in't,
 And Consequence of Dread, that I committed
 The daring'st Counsel which I had to doubt,
 And did intreat your Highness to this Course,
 Which you are running here.

King. I then mov'd you,
 My Lord of *Canterbury*, and got your Leave
 To make this present Summons ; unsolicited
 I left no rev'rend Person in this Court ;
 But, by particular Consent, proceeded
 Under your Hands and Seals. Therefore go on ;
 For no Dislike i'th' World against the Person
 Of our good Queen, but the sharp thorny Points
 Of my alledged Reasons drive this forward.
 Prove but our Marriage lawful, by my Life
 And kingly Dignity, we are contented
 To wear our mortal State to come with her,
 (*Katherina*, our Queen) before the primest Creature
 That's paragon'd i'th' World.

Cam. So please your Highness,
 The Queen being absent, 'tis a needful Fitness
 That we adjourn this Court to further Day ;
 Mean while must be an earnest Motion
 Made to the Queen, to call back her Appeal
 She intends to his Holiness.

King. I may perceive
 These Cardinals trifle with me : I abhor
 This dilatory Sloth, and Tricks of *Rome* !
 My learn'd and well-beloved Servant *Cranmer*,
 Pr'ythee return ; with thy Approach, I know,
 My Comfort comes along. Break up the Court :
 I say, set on.

[*Exeunt, in Manner as they entered.*]

“ that can, according to Law, be conceived or de-
 “ vised, against all Ecclesiastical Censures and Pe-
 “ nalties whatsoever, General Councils, Apostolick
 “ Constitutions and Ordinances, and every Thing
 “ else to the contrary notwithstanding. Given at
 “ *Viterbo*, in the Year of the *Incar nation* of the Lord
 “ 1528, on the 6th of the *Ides* of *June*, in the
 “ 5th Year of our Pontificate.”

As soon as the Commission was read the Clerks of the Court took the usual Oaths, and the King and Queen were cited by the Legates to appear on the 18th of *June*, which was the Business of that Day.

The King's Proxies were Dr. *Sampson*, Dr. *Petre*, and Dr. *Tregonnell*: The Queen's Counsel were Dr. *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Standish*, Bishop of *St. Aſaph*, and Dr. *Ridley*.

On the 18th of *June* the Court sat again, to which he King ſent his Proxies; Second Day.
 but the Queen appearing in Perſon, proteſted againſt the Legates as incompetent Judges, alledging, “ That the
 “ Pope had ordered the Cauſe ſhould be tried at *Rome* ;”
 and deſired Time might be allowed to prove the Al-
 legation ; for which Purpoſe the Legates gave her
 Highneſs three Days, and adjourned the Court.

On the 21ſt, the King and Queen be- Third Day.
 ing ſeated in Chairs againſt each other,
Campeius opened the Cauſe in a long Speech, and
 both this Legate and *Wolſey* made ſolemn Declara-
 tions of their Impartiality, and that they intended to
 proceed without Favour or Affection.

The King being called, answered, *Here!* The Queen
 made no Answer ; but riſing, from her Chair, came
 up unto the King, and kneeling unto him, made
 a moving and ſignificant Speech, already cited in
 Mr. *Cavendiſh*'s Hiſtory foregoing. When ſhe had
 ended her Speech, ſhe roſe up and made a low Cur-
 teſy to the King, and, inſtead of returning to her
 Seat,

Seat, went strait out of the Court, every one wondering what the Queen intended ; but, before she had gone far, the King commanded the Apparitor to call her back again, who cried out, Catherine, *Queen of England, come into the Court !* Whereupon the Gentleman, who led her, told her she was called ; to whom she replied, *I bear it very well, but go you on ; I cannot have Justice in this Court ! Let them proceed against me in what Manner they will, I am resolved not to stay.* So away she went, and would never after be persuaded to make her Appearance, either personally or by Proctors. When she was gone the King commended her in strong Terms, and acquitted * the Cardinal from being the first Mover of it : But, as to what was said, see it at large in *Cavendish*.

After

* It may be further observed, in Vindication of the Cardinal upon this Head, That, being pressed by the King to give his Judgment in the Case of the Divorce, he excused himself from declaring it, by Reason, as he was pleased to alledge, the Matter was of too arduous a Nature for him ; and therefore desired Time to consult the rest of the Clergy upon it. This Excuse could neither have been made or admitted, if the Cardinal had at any Time taken the Freedom of delivering his Opinion to the Disquiet of the King's Conscience, in the Manner it was pretended he did.

It seems unaccountable, that Bishop Burnet should cite *Saunders* to shew that the Cardinal was the first that infused Scruples into the King, relating to his Marriage, and cause *Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, afterwards to possess the King's Mind with them in Confession : For, if this

learned Historian had wanted an Authority towards supporting the Grounds of this common Suspicion against the Cardinal, we cannot but think the Name of *Mr. Camden* would have made a better Figure in the Margin of his History, than that of an Author whom himself has treated with so much Contempt, and exposed as a Writer to whom no manner of Credit is to be given.

But whatever Occasion the Bishop might have for this Testimony, to do his Lordship Justice, he professes himself, in the Sequel of this Story, inclined to think, that the Scruples of the King were much antienter ; and, in a few Pages after, he acquits the Cardinal of this Reproach ; however we shall not inquire into what Motives induced him to be willing, that his Readers should credit a Story in his last Volume, which his Lordship in his first Volume has so well and effectually confuted.

After the Speeches were ended the Court adjourned to the 25th of June, at the same time ordering Letters monitory to be issued for citing the Queen to appear. In that Interval the two Cardinals waited upon the Queen, at his Majesty's Desire, to endeavour to prevail with her to comply with the King's Request, and submit to the Court; but it was to no Purpose. See Mr. Cavendish again; and beneath *Shakespeare*. *

On

* Enter the Cardinals Wolsey and Campeius.

Wol. Peace to your Highness.

Queen. Your Graces find me here part of a House-wife, (I would be all) against the worst may happen: What are your Pleasures with me, rev'rend Lords?

Wol. May't please you, noble Madam, to withdraw Into your private Chamber; we shall give you The full Cause of our Coming.

Queen. Speak it here.

There's nothing I have done yet, o' my Conscience, Deserves a Corner: Would all other Women Could speak this with as free a Soul as I do! My Lords, I care not (so much I am happy Above a Number) if my Actions Were try'd by ev'ry Tongue, ev'ry Eye saw 'em, Envy and base Opinion set against 'em, I know my Life so even. If your Business Do seek me out, and that way I am Wise in, Out with it boldly! Truth loves open Dealing.

Wol. *Tanta est erga te mentis integritas, Regina Serenissima.*

Queen. Good my Lord, no Latin;

I am not such Truant since my Coming, As not to know the Language I have liv'd in. A strange Tongue makes my Cause more strange, suspicious: Pray speak in *English*; here are some will thank you, If you speak Truth, for their poor Mistress's Sake. Believe me, she has had much Wrong. Lord Cardinal, The willing'st Sin I ever yet committed May be absolv'd in *English*.

Wol. Noble Lady!

I'm sorry my Integrity should breed (And Service to his Majesty and you) So deep Suspicion, where all Faith was meant. We come not, by the Way of Accusation,

To

Fourth Day. On the 25th the Court met, pursuant to the Adjournment, and the proper Officer returned to the Court, that the Queen had been duly summoned; but, as she did not appear, she was ordered to be summoned a second Time, and then the Court adjourned to the 28th.

Fifth Day. On the 28th the Court met, and the Citation being read, and Proof being made of the Queen's being duly summoned, she was pronounced *Contumax*. However, though the Queen refused to appear, the Court proceeded to examine Witnesses, and made a Shew, at least, of coming to a Determination, the Lawyers being permitted to plead on each Side. The Advocates for the King opened the Charge by setting forth, "It was not in the Pope's
 " Power to ratify the Marriage, and make that law-
 " ful which the *Law of GOD* and Nature had pro-
 " nounced unlawful: That *Catherine* had been law-
 " fully married to Prince *Arthur*, the King's elder
 " Brother, and the Nuptials publickly solemnized no
 " Man could deny, and many Circumstances did ma-
 " nifest the Consummating of the Marriage by carnal
 " Conjunction; and indeed considering the Age of
 " Prince *Arthur* and of Queen *Catherine* at the Time,
 the

To taint that Honour every good Tongue blesses;
 Nor to betray you any way to Sorrow;
 (You have too much, good Lady!) but to know
 How you stand minded in the weighty Difference
 Between the King and you? And to deliver,
 Like free and honest Men, our just Opinions
 And Comforts to your Cause.

Cam. Most honour'd Madam,
 My Lord of *York*, out of his noble Nature,
 Zeal and Obedience he still bore your Grace,
 Forgetting, like a good Man, your late Censure
 Both of his Truth and him, (which was too far),
 Offers, as I do, in a Sign of Peace,
 His Service and his Counsel.—

Queen. To betray me!
 My Lords, I thank you both for your Good-wills;

Ye

“ the Prince being 15 and the Princess something
 “ more, and that they bedded together for near five
 “ Months, it seemed very strange, that the Queen
 “ should call God to witness, as she did, *That, when*
 “ *she came to King Henry's Bed, she was an unspotted*
 “ *Virgin.*”

The Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, who was preſent at the
 Marriage, declared, “ The Age of Prince *Arthur*, at
 “ the Time of his ſaid Marriage, to be about 15, and
 “ that ſhe ſaw Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Catherine*
 “ alone in Bed together, the next Night after their
 “ Marriage.”

George, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, depoſed, “ The Mar-
 “ riage was celebrated at *St. Paul's*, *decimo Septimo*
 “ *Henrici 7mi*, 1501; that Prince *Arthur* was born
 “ at *Wincheſter*, 2do *Henrici 7mi*; and that he be-
 “ lieved the Prince knew his Lady carnally, becauſe
 “ he might be able ſo to do, as himſelf had been, who
 “ knew his Wife before he was ſixteen.”

Sir *William Thomas* depoſed, “ That Prince *Arthur*
 “ and the Lady *Catherine* lived five Months, partly
 “ about *London* and partly at *Ludlow*, in a Houſe
 “ together as Man and Wife, and that he heard Sir
 “ *William Woodall*, who was at the Prince's *Chriſtening*,
 “ ſay,

Ye ſpeak like honeſt Men; pray God ye prove ſo.
 But how to make ye ſuddenly an Answer,
 In ſuch a Point of Weight, ſo near mine Honour,
 (More near my Life, I fear) with my weak Wit,
 And to ſuch Men of Gravity and Learning,
 In Truth I know not. I was ſet at work
 Among my Maids, full little, God knows, looking
 Either for ſuch Men, or ſuch Buſineſs.
 For her Sake that I have been, (for I feel
 The laſt ſit of my Greatneſs) good your Graces,
 Let me have Time and Counſel for my Cauſe;
 Alas! I am a Woman, friendleſs and hopeleſs!

Wolf. Madam, you wrong the King's Love with thoſe Fears,
 Your Hopes and Friends are infinite.

Queen. In England
 But little for my Profit: Can you think, Lords,
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“ say, That he was above 15 at the Time of his Mar-
 “ riage, and the Lady Catherine older.”

Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, deposed, “ He saw a
 “ Register of the Nativity of the King’s Children,
 “ by which he found Prince *Arthur* was born the 20th
 “ of *September*, 1486, and at the Time of his Mar-
 “ riage, which was upon a *Sunday*, *decimo septimo*
 “ *Henrici 7mi*, he was of a good and genuine Com-
 “ plexion, and able, as he believed, for the Purpose
 “ of Generation.”

Robert, Viscount *Fitz-Walters*, deposed, “ The
 “ Prince was then about 15 and Queen *Catherine* old-
 “ er; and that he very well remembered, that the next
 “ Day after the Prince and Princess of *Wales* had been
 “ in Bed together, he saw them solemnly blessed, and
 “ waited at Breakfast on Prince *Arthur*, when *Maurice*
 “ *St. John* did carve, and he, the Lord *Fitz-Walters*,
 “ gave Drink; at which Time *Maurice St. John* de-
 “ manding of the Prince what he had done that Night
 “ to make him so dry? the Prince answered, *I have*
 “ *been in Spain this Night.*”

Charles, Duke of *Suffolk*, deposed, “ That he was
 “ in the Bishop of *London*’s Palace the Morrow next
 “ following the Day of *Marriage*, and waited there
 “ upon the Prince at Breakfast,” who, having in
 Effect

That any *Englishman* dare give me Counsel?
 Or be a known Friend ’gainst his Highness’s Pleasure,
 Though he be grown so desp’rate to be honest,
 And live a Subject? Nay, forsooth, my Friends,
 They that must weigh out my Afflictions,
 They that my Trust must grow to, live not here;
 They are, as all my Comforts are, far hence,
 In my own Country, Lords.

Cam. I would your Grace
 Would leave your Griefs, and take my Counsel.

Queen. How, Sir?

Cam. Put your main Cause into the King’s Protection,
 He’s loving and most gracious. ’Twill be much
 Better both for your Honour, and your Cause:
 For, if the Trial of the Law o’er-take ye,
 You’ll part away disgrac’d.

Wolf.

Effect confirmed *Maurice St. John's* Deposition, added, " That the *Shrove-tide* following the Marriage, which was in *November* preceding, the said Prince began to decay, and grow feeble in Body, which increased, as *St. John* believed, by reason the Prince lay with the Lady *Catherine*."

Thomas, Duke of *Norfolk*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, deposed, " That he, being on the Day of Marriage in the Bishop of *London's* Palace, and the Morrow after at the Prince's Breakfast, heard the Prince's Answer to *Maurice St. John*, when he said, *He had been that Night in the midst of Spain*; by which Words, because Prince *Arthur* was of Age, and good Complexion and Nature, and above 15, he believes he carnally knew his Lady; because himself at the same Age did know and carnally use a Woman; and that he believes this the rather, because he heard, from credible Persons, that the said Prince *Arthur* did lay with the said Lady *Catherine* five or six Nights after."

Sir *Anthony Willoughby*, Knt. deposed, " That, being the Morrow after the Marriage in the Prince's Privy-chamber, the said Prince spoke before divers

H h 2

" Wit-

Wolf. He tells you rightly.

Queen. Ye tell me, what ye wish for both, my Ruin : Is this your *Christian* Counsel? Out upon ye! Heav'n is above all yet! There sits a Judge That no King can corrupt.

Cam. Your Grace mistakes us.

Queen. The more Shame for ye; holy Men I thought ye, Upon my Soul, two rev'rend Cardinal Virtues; But Cardinal Sins, and hollow Hearts, I fear ye! Mend 'em, for Shame! my Lords: Is this your Comfort, The Cordial that you bring a wretched Lady; A Woman lost among ye, laugh'd at, scorn'd? I will not wish you half my Miseries, I have more Charity. But say, I warn'd ye; Take Heed, take Heed, for Heav'n's Sake! lest at once The Burthen of my Sorrows fall upon ye.

Wolf.

“Witnesses these Words, Willoughby, give me a Cup
 “of Ale, for I have been this Night in the midst of
 “Spain: After which he said, *It is good Pastime*
 “to have a Wife; which Words he repeated divers
 “other Times; and he heard say, they lay at *Lud-*
 “low together the *Shrove-tide* next following.”

From these Depositions, and other Circumstances, the Counsel on the King's Part strenuously urged the Invalidity of the said Marriage from the beginning, by reason of the carnal Copulation committed between Prince *Arthur*, the King's Brother, and the present Queen: But it was again as vehemently denied by the Queen's Counsel.

The King's Counsel further offered the following Depositions in Support of the Contest, which were read.

William Warham, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, deposed, “That he never liked the Marriage; and
 “that he told *Henry* the VIIth as much.”

Sir Anthony Poynes, as to the Age only.

Thomas Lord Darcy, *William Lord Montjoy*, and *Henry Guilford*, Knights of the Garter, said little to any Purpose, but what they had heard by Fame.

David Owen, as to the Age only.

Ni-

Wolf. Madam, this is a meer Distraction,
 You turn the Good we offer into Envy.

Queen. You turn me into Nothing. Woe upon ye!
 And all such false Professors! Would you have me
 (If you have any Justice, any Pity,
 If ye be any Thing, but Churchmen's Habits)
 Put my sick Cause into his Hands that hates me?
 Alas, h'as banish'd me his Bed already,
 His Love too, long ago. I'm old, my Lords,
 And all the Fellowship I hold now with him
 Is only by Obedience. What can happen
 To me above this Wretchedness? All your Studies
 Make me a Curse like this.

Cam. Your Fears are worse —————

Queen. Have I liv'd thus long (let me speak myself,
 Since Virtue finds no Friends) a Wife, a true one,

A Wo-

Nicholas, Bishop of Ely, deposed, " That he could
 " say nothing of the *Carnalis copula*; but that he very
 " much doubted it, in regard the Queen often (*sub*
 " *Testimonio Conscientiæ suæ*) said to this Deponent,
 " That she was never carnally known by Prince Arthur."

After the reading these Depositions the Bishop of
 Rochester, one of the Queen's Counsell, stood up,
 and spoke in this Manner, " And all this is no
 " more, than what hath formerly been deposed, exa-
 " mined, thoroughly debated, and scanned by the
 " best and most learned Divines and Lawyers that
 " could be got, which Time I do well remember;
 " and I am not ignorant of the Manner of their
 " Proceedings, when and where all the Allegations,
 " in respect of what was then produced to the con-
 " trary, was adjudged vain and frivolous, whereupon
 " the Marriage was concluded, which was afterwards
 " approved and ratified by the See Apostolick; and
 " that in such ample Manner, as I think it a very hard
 " Matter now again to call the same in question be-
 " fore other Judges."

Then stood up Dr. Ridley, another of the Queen's
 Counsell, a little Man, but of great Spirit, and pro-
 found Learning, and said, " My Lords, the Car-
 " dinals, we have heard how the Queen herself here
 " in

A Woman (I dare say without Vain-glory)
 Never yet branded with Suspicion?
 Have I, with all my full Affections
 Still met the King; lov'd him next Heaven, obey'd him,
 Been, out of Fondness, superstitious to him,
 Almost forgot my Prayers to content him;
 And am I thus rewarded? 'Tis not well, Lords.
 Bring me a constant Woman to her Husband,
 One that never dreamt a Joy beyond his Pleasure;
 And to that Woman, when she has done most,
 Yet will I add an Honour, a great Patience.

Wolf. Madam, you wander from the Good we aim at.

Queen. My Lord, I dare not make myself so guilty,
 To give up willingly that noble Title,
 Your Master wed me to: Nothing but Death
 Shall e'er divorce my Dignities.

Wolf.

“ in the Face of the whole Court, and in the Pre-
 “ sence and Hearing of the King himself, called the
 “ great God of Heaven and Earth to witness, *That*
 “ *she was a pure Virgin when she came into the*
 “ *King's Bed*; and now she put it unto his Conscience,
 “ speaking unto him Face to Face; and, if it were
 “ otherwise, we cannot imagine the Queen durst
 “ so appeal unto him, or the King so spoke unto,
 “ if unworthily, would not have contradicted her:
 “ Besides, we have here the Testimony of a most
 “ Reverend Father, who hath deposed upon Oath,
 “ how the Queen had often, *sub Testimonio Conscientiæ*
 “ *sue*, said unto him, *That she never had any carnal*
 “ *Knowledge of Prince Arthur*. Now, my Lords, that
 “ such a Frolick or Jest, as that about a *Cup of Ale*
 “ or the *Midst of Spain*, with all the rest that hath
 “ been said, that are but mere Conjectures and Presump-
 “ tions, should stand in Competition with so great
 “ a Testi-

Wolf. Pray hear me —————

Queen. Would I had never trod this *English* Earth,
 Or felt the Flatteries that grow upon it!
 Ye've Angels Faces, but Heav'n knows your Hearts.
 What shall become of me now! wretched Lady!
 I am the most unhappy Woman living!
 Alas, poor Wenches! where are now your Fortunes? [*To the Wom.*
 Ship wreck'd upon a Kingdom, where no Pity.
 No Friends, no Hope! no Kindred weep for me!
 Almost no Grave allowed me! Like the Lilly,
 That once was Mistress of the Field and flourish'd,
 I'll hang my Head, and Perish!

Wolf. If your Grace
 Could but be brought to know our Ends are honest,
 You'd feel more Comfort. Why should we, good Lady,
 Upon what Cause, wrong you? Alas! our Places,
 The Way of our Profession is against it:
 We are to cure such Sorrows, not to sow 'em.
 For Goodness Sake, consider what you do,
 How you may hurt yourself, nay, utterly
 Grow from the King's Acquaintance, by this Carriage.
 The Hearts of Princes kiss Obedience,
 So much they love it: But, to stubborn Spirits,
 They swell and grow as terrible as Storms.

I know

“ a Testimony as a sovereign Princess’s solemn At-
 “ testation of her Cause upon the King’s Conscience,
 “ and that Conscience clearing her from such Pre-
 “ sumption by its own Silence, should cause us to
 “ lay aside all Reverence, which we owe to former
 “ Power and Authority, as if all their Determina-
 “ tions, Consultations, and Confirmations, and even
 “ of the See Apostolick itself, should become void by
 “ your calling this Matter again into Question, is a
 “ Thing, in my Conceit, most detestable to be re-
 “ heard, and a great Shame to this honourable
 “ Court to hear such Stuff repeated for no other
 “ Purpose, but in Contempt of former Power, and
 “ calling the Wisdom of our Ancestors and Prede-
 “ cessors, together with our own, in Question and De-
 “ rision.” Then the Court adjourned.

Now we leave the Reader to judge, whether he
 will

I know you have a gentle, noble Temper;
 A Soul as even as a Calm ; Pray think us,
 Those we profess, Peace-makers, Friends, and Servants.

Cam. Madam, you’ll find it so : You wrong your Virtues
 With these weak Women’s Fears. A noble Spirit,
 As yours was put into you, ever casts
 Such Doubts, as false Coin, from it. The King loves you ;
 Beware you lose it not : For us (if you please
 To trust us in your Business) we are ready
 To use our utmost Studies in your Service.

Queen. Do what you will, my Lords ; and pray forgive me,
 If I have us’d myself unmannerly.
 You know I am a Woman lacking Wit,
 To make a seemly Answer to such Persons.
 Pray do my Service to his Majesty.
 He has my Heart yet ; and shall have my Prayers,
 While I shall have my Life. Come, rev’rend Fathers,
 Bestow your Counsels on me. She now begs,
 That little thought, when she set Footing here,
 She should have bought her Dignities so dear. [Exeunt.

If we may be allowed to form a Judgment of the Cardinal’s Temper from his Speeches to the King, to the Queen, to the Duke of Suffolk, and on many other Occasions, we cannot help being of Opinion, that he did not want Spirit to vindicate the Honour of his Character, and the Justice of his Cause.

will believe the Depositions, or Queen *Catherine's* Protestation.

In the mean time the Queen continued to send to the Lady *Margaret*, Regent of the *Low Countries*, a Detail of the Proceedings of the Legatine Court, which she transmitted to the Emperor *Charles*, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, with Intreaties to assist their Aunt. These Princes thereupon sent fresh Instructions to their Ambassadors at his Holiness's Court, to take a particular Care of the Queen's Interest, and they had likewise a Commission to give his Holiness a Copy of the Bull, and Brief, of *Julius* the II^d, together with the Queen's Declaration, That the Marriage between Prince *Arthur* and herself was not consummated. Though some conceived, that, had not the Queen appealed to *Rome*, the Marriage had been confirmed this Session, as it was afterwards by the Pope himself, when too late.

The King, being now fully satisfied that the Emperor and his Brother were endeavouring to carry the Process to *Rome*, sent fresh Instructions to his Ambassadors, to prevent the Avocation of the Cause, and to remind the Pope, that, by consenting to such an Expedient, his Holiness would put a great Disgrace upon his Legates, contradict his late Bull and Commission, break through his own Order, and disoblige the King and Kingdom in a very notorious Manner: But all this Remonstrance signified nothing, the Posture of Affairs in *Italy* was changed, and the Pope fallen into new Measures, by his entering into an advantageous Treaty with the Emperor, which we have before mentioned. In fine, the Ambassadors of the House of *Austria* made a Protestation, in the Queen's Name, against the Proceedings of the Legates in *England*, every Page of which Instrument was subscribed by the Queen's Hand, and the Purport of it was, to entreat the Pope to null the Proceedings in *England*, to admonish the King to stop the Process, or consent that the Trial of the Cause might be at *Rome*, which was received with the utmost Respect.

So

So that his Holiness, forgetting the many Favours he had received from *Henry*, as well as his own great Acknowledgments and Promises, ventures the breaking with the King, rather than lose the Advantage proposed by his new Alliance with the Emperor, signed an *Avocation* of the Cause, and forbid all further Proceedings in *England* under great Penalties.

Our Ambassadors upon this extraordinary News let his Holiness know, that, as the King's Request had been denied, their Master would apply other Remedies, which did not a little startle him; and therefore, as he knew it would possibly be attended with ill Consequences in respect to his spiritual Affairs, he endeavoured to shew, by an extenuating Letter to the Cardinal, that he was dragged into this Expedient, in which he tells him, "How
" much he was affected at the Necessity
" of the Juncture : That nothing was more averse to
" his Inclination, than the *Avocation* of the Cause :
" That he was so sensible of the King's Merit and
" kind Offices, that nothing but mere Justice could
" have forced him to have done any thing against his
" Highness's Inclination : " And desires the Cardinal to represent his Regret to the King, to put the best Complexion upon the Matter he could, to use his Interest to continue him in his customary Friendship and Esteem to the Apostolick See, and to acquaint his Highness, that he had the same Regard for him as formerly.

*The Pope's
Letter to
Wolsey.*

Before the *Avocation* was signed at *Rome*, the Pope instructed *Campeius*, unknown to *Wolsey*, to draw out the Matter at Length, and the Cardinal managed the Business with Dexterity enough.

The King, being perfectly acquainted with the Pope's Designs, and hopeless of the Queen's Consent, hastened the Commissioners to forward the Divorce, which *Campeius*, accordingly did with that Dispatch, that only the definitive

*The Legatine
Court sits for
the last Time.*

Sentence was now wanting, for giving which a solemn Day was appointed, *Sept.* 28, which caused many of the Nobility, and a Multitude of the Commonalty to repair to the Court, expecting that Judgment would have been given for the King; and he himself, conceiving some Hopes of the Legates good Intent towards him, caused a Seat to be placed for him behind the Hangings, where, without being seen, he might conveniently hear what passed in Court. The Cardinal being seated, the King's Advocates earnestly required, that Sentence might be given on their Side. Upon which *Campeius*, standing up as well as he could for the Gout, informed them, that his Holiness had reserved the further Hearing of the Cause to himself, and therefore declared their Commission to be dissolved: But before this he made the Speech that *Cavendish* has already recited, as well as what passed on the Duke of *Suffolk's* insulting Cardinal *Wolsey*. A bad Retaliation this, for doing him two such signal Services, the saving of his Life, and bringing about his grand Marriage. See Vol. IId, p. 257, &c.

In Consequence of what *Campeius* had declared at the Close of the *Legatine* Court, Pope *Clement* the VIIth issued forth a Brief of *Avocation* of the Cause from *England* to the *Consistorial* Court at *Rome*, where *Paulus Capissanus*, Master of the *Rolls*, was to preside under his Holiness: And it having been signified, by the Queen's Party, that the King of *England* would not answer to any such Appeal, the Brief takes notice of this Rumour, and threatens the King with Excommunication, if he should presume to proceed to another Marriage, before the Cause was decided in the *Consistorial* Court. This Brief by particular Directions was fixed upon the great Church-doors at *Bruges*, *Tournay*, and *Dunkirk*, inasmuch as no one durst take the Liberty of fixing it up any where in *England*.

The Cause being ordered to *Rome*, and the King's Expectation baulked, he threw his Disappointment upon

upon Cardinal *Wolsey*; (though, from the Account of the whole Matter, it appears the Cardinal was very sincere in the King's Business, and prosecuted the Divorce with all the Heartiness and Application imaginable :) Yet his Inclination was so strongly fixed upon Mrs. *Bulleyn*, that he could not help resenting the Pope's Collusion to the highest Degree, though his Wrath-like Thunder fell first on Cardinal *Wolsey*, who was nearest his Elbow, and might now well cry out with the Comedian,

JOVE, and ye Gods ! how hard a Thing
It is to serve a raging King ?

This great Controversy being at a Stand *Both Parties at a stand.*
in *England* the disappointed Party gazed about, unapprehensive of the Issue, nor could any one guess, whether or no his Majesty designed to answer the Appeal. However, by sending Sir *Edward Horne* and Dr. *Bonner* to *Rome*, he made a Shew as if he would ; though they did not carry themselves, as some Historians say, as if they had any Instructions from their Master to tender an express Submission to the *Consistorial* Court, where the King had been cited to make his Appearance ; but his Agents objected against doing it in Person, which the Pope agreed to wave, provided he would send his Proctors. New Difficulties being started every Day concerning the Manner of the Trial, and the Court of *Rome* not being willing that others should prescribe Rules to them, little or no Progress was made in the Affair ; but, on the contrary, both Parties were securing their Outworks, and studying how to defend themselves in Case of an Attack : And as the Pope by his Brief had forbidden the King to take another Woman for his Wife without License from the Holy See, so the King published an Order, that no Decree coming

from *Rome* should be received in *England*. This looked like declaring War, or at least it was a manifest Token of a violent Exasperation, which discovered itself by the Treatment Queen *Catherine* met with immediately after, when she was ordered to withdraw to some of the King's Manor-houses, that her Presence might not influence the People and cause a Disturbance. "And to countenance the putting her under Restraint, as *Echard* says, a formal Complaint was made against her, that she favoured some who designed to destroy the King and the Cardinal: That she had carried herself very disobligingly to the King, and used many indirect Arts to render herself popular: That the King was in Danger of his Life by her Means, and therefore he could no longer keep her Company, either as to Bed or Table. But she was a Woman of such Resolution and Constancy, that no Threatnings could intimidate her."

As the Court was broke up, the King next was advised, as many Authors affirm, to send Abroad, in order to obtain the Subscriptions of such learned Men he could draw in to favour his Cause. However that was not immediately put in Execution; for the King's Mind, upon the Breaking up of the Court was so full of troublesome Thoughts, that it made him uncertain which Way to determine. In this Dilemma, *Hall*, *Stow*, *Rapin*, and *Burnet* affirm, he resolved upon a Progress into the Country, hoping thereby to dispel his Melancholy.

The King sets out on a Progress. For that End he set out attended by his royal Retinue, and took up his Lodgings the first Night at *Waltham*, and, as one House was not sufficient to entertain his whole Court, there were several of them quartered at the neighbouring Gentlemen's Houses, particularly Mr. Secretary *Gardiner* and Dr. *Fox* at one Mr. *Cressy's*:

Cressy's : At Supper the Conversation run upon the Divorce, and, the Master of the House having highly commended *Cranmer*, * (who at this Time had committed to his Care, the Tuition of two of Mr. *Cressy's* Sons) to *Fox* and *Gardiner*, for a Man of Learning, they desired him to give his Opinion on that Subject, which he at first modestly declined ; but they pressed him so much that he could not excuse himself : Therefore, after they had stated the Question, *Cranmer* said, “ He saw no better Way to extricate the King out of his Difficulties, than to procure in Writing the Opinions of all the Universities in *Europe*, and of the most eminent Divines and Civilians ; that then the Learned would judge *Julius* the IId’s Dispensation either *sufficient* or *invalid* ; if the *first*, the King’s Conscience would have Reason to be easy ; if the *second*, the Pope would never venture to pass Sentence contrary to the Opinion of all the learned and able Men in *Christendom*.”

Fox and *Gardiner* relished this Advice, and imparted it to the King, who, immediately taking the Author’s Meaning, cried out in a Transport of Joy, *That he had got the right Sow by the Ear* ; an Expression

* *Thomas Cranmer* was born at *Arflochton* in *Nottinghamshire*, immediately derived from that antient Family, of *Cranmer-hall* in *Lincolnshire*. He was bred at *Jesus College*, where he was Fellow, and highly esteemed for his Learning and other excellent Qualifications, insomuch, that Cardinal *Wolsey*, hearing of his Fame, was as desirous to transplant him for an Ornament to *Oxford*, as Bishop *Fisher* was to detain him in *Cambridge*, because he was eminent for the Arts, more especially for Divinity, and most of all for his Sobriety, Temperance, Meekness, Discre-

tion, Moderation, and a grave Resolution, equally above the Frowns or Smiles of Fortune ; but he, espousing a Wife, quitted his Fellowship, left the College, and retired to *Buckingham-house*, where he at once prepared himself and others for publick Employments, and accordingly was recommended to King *Henry* the VIIIth, as appears above : Thus much for his Original.--It is said, Dr. *Cranmer*, an eminent Physician at *Kingston* in *Surry*, and Mr. *Cranmer*, a Banker in *Fleet-street*, *London*, are descended from a Branch of this noble and antient Family.

pression which shewed more the King's Extacy than his Gentility : But as *Cranmer* well explained what he had but just hinted at Table, it so gained the King's Esteem, that from that Moment he was ordered to follow the Court.

As *Wolsey* did not set out with the Court, there are several Letters in the *Exchequer Record-office*, from *Gardiner* to *Wolsey*, couched in the most respectful Terms, giving him an Account of his Majesty's Progress, and particularly *Gardiner* tells *Wolsey*, in one of them dated from *Waltham*, that the King was very merry, which we presume was owing to the Advice that was given him by *Cranmer*.

After Matters were settled in respect to the Steps that were necessary to be taken upon *Cranmer's* Advice, Commissioners were immediately dispatched to several foreign Universities, with the State of the King's Case, who so well executed the Trust reposed in them, that they procured in Writing the Opinion of several of those Universities, besides that of many great Lawyers, *That the King's Marriage was unlawful*, which different Certificates are to be met with at large in *Rymer's Fædera*, *Burnet*, *Speed*, and other Authors.

Sleaden upon this Occasion remarks, " That the foreign Universities, and particularly that of *Paris*, were bribed for the King."

In the Year 1532, there was a Book published at *Lunenbergh*, intituled, *A Confutation of the Censures of the University*, printed with the King's License in *England*. This Book, now in the *Bodleian Library*, informs us, that the University of *Paris* was equally divided, as many being against as for the Divorce ; and that some Members of that Body published Discourses against the other Party, who gave their Opinion for the King :

This

This Author wrote on the Queen's Side, and dedicated his Book to the then Emperor's Ambassador in *England*.

What passed at Home, previous to the two Universities giving their Opinion relating to the Divorce, Dr. *Fiddes* relates, and fully shews, that it was with great Difficulty the Court obtained their favourable Sentiments.

Bishop *Burnet*, in his Account relating to the Determination of our two Universities concerning the King's Marriage, taxes Mr. *Wood* with being too credulous, and that he drew his Information from *Saunders*, an exasperated Writer of the Church of *Rome*: But Mr. *Collier* undertakes to justify Mr. *Wood's* Account from Lord *Herbert's* Records, which plainly make it appear, that the King threatned the University, and that their Statutes were violated by excluding many who had a Right to vote; for the Historians agree, " That the
" King sent Dr. *Longland*, his Confessor, to procure
" their Certificate in Favour of his Divorce from *Catherine*:
" That in the Doctor's Instructions the King
" joined Entreaties and Threats, to bring the University to declare in his Favour; but their Chancellor,
" *Warham*, advises them to follow the Truth: That one
" Part of the University was for complying with the
" King's Desire, whilst the other (the Artists, or Regent Masters) were of the contrary Opinion: That,
" notwithstanding all the King's Threats, he could not
" obtain what he so earnestly desired, until the latter
" were excluded, although by the Statutes nothing
" could be done without them." The Substance of all which is confirmed by the King's Letter to the Regents or Artists, wherein he says, " That provided they held on in their Obstinacy, and gave their Sovereign any farther Trouble, they should quickly be made sensible of the ill Consequence, and understand it was not their best Way to pro-
" voke

The Resolution of our own, &c.

“voke a *Hornet's* * *Nest*.”--- And as they refused to comply with his Request, the King did not forget to make them sensible of his Resentment.

When the Point came to be debated in the University of *Cambridge*, some Art was made use of before the King could obtain a Subscription. When *Gardiner* and *Fox*, who were sent thither purposely to manage the Members, found Matters could not be carried to their Liking in a full Congregation, with great Difficulty brought the Thing within the Compass of a small Committee of twenty-nine Persons, viz. Dr. *Edmonds*, the Vice-chancellor, ten Doctors, sixteen Batchellors, and the two Proctors. Many of the University foresaw the Danger of this Method, and therefore they moved the Question, “Whether
“or no it should be followed?” *Collier* says, “That,
“the *second* Time the Question was put, the Votes
“were equal; the *third* Time, by prevailing with
“some of the contrary Opinion to quit the House,
“the Order of the Committee passed.” *Gardiner* and *Fox* having gained this Point, gave the King an Account, and sent up the Names of the Committee, acquainting the King with the good Condition of the Affair, and that they hoped in a short Time to procure a Majority, which happened accordingly. And thus with a good deal of Management the King gained his Point, and the Marriage was declared *unlawful*.

*The Cardinal
begins visibly to
decline in the
King's Favour.*

As the Court for trying the King's Cause was dissolved, the Cardinal began sensibly to decline in the King's Favour, though he had done every thing that could in Reason be expected from him, except betraying the Trust reposed in him by the See of *Rome*; in the Discharge of which he made no inconsiderable Figure; yet gave place to his Colleague in

* His Majesty, we think, has Name here; for he was a *Stinger* not given himself an improper sure enough.

in every thing, and suffered him to act as he pleased: From whence we may infer, notwithstanding his Enemies Insinuations to the contrary, that he was determined to act with the utmost Impartiality, whatever the Event might be, valuing his Honour and Reputation more than any worldly Advantages. Yet Bishop *Burnet* would have it, “ That the King received Information of *Wolsey*’s having juggled with him in the Business of the *Divorce*, and had secretly advised the Pope to what he had done:” For which he produces no Authority. Whereas there is nothing appears more manifest, than that he always acted without Dissimulation; it being a remarkable Part of his Character, that *he was above promising, where he did not intend to perform*; and the chief Reason of *Anna Bulleyn*’s first Prejudice against him, as before observed, was, because she could not prevail on him to *promise* to be in her Interest respecting her Exaltation to the Throne; and therefore she took all the Ways possible to ruin him. For, *Rapin* says, “ *Anna Bulleyn* was persuaded, if *Wolsey* had pleased, the Affair of the Divorce would have taken another Turn; but that he had altered his Resolution: Whether her Opinion was well grounded, or the Vexation to see herself still remote from her Hopes, was the Occasion of exasperating her against *Wolsey*, does not fully appear: Other than true it is she looked upon him as an Enemy, that deserved her whole Vengeance; and, finding the King to give Ear to whatsoever was said against his Minister, she neglected nothing that could help to ruin him: And in this she was assisted by several Persons of the highest Rank.”

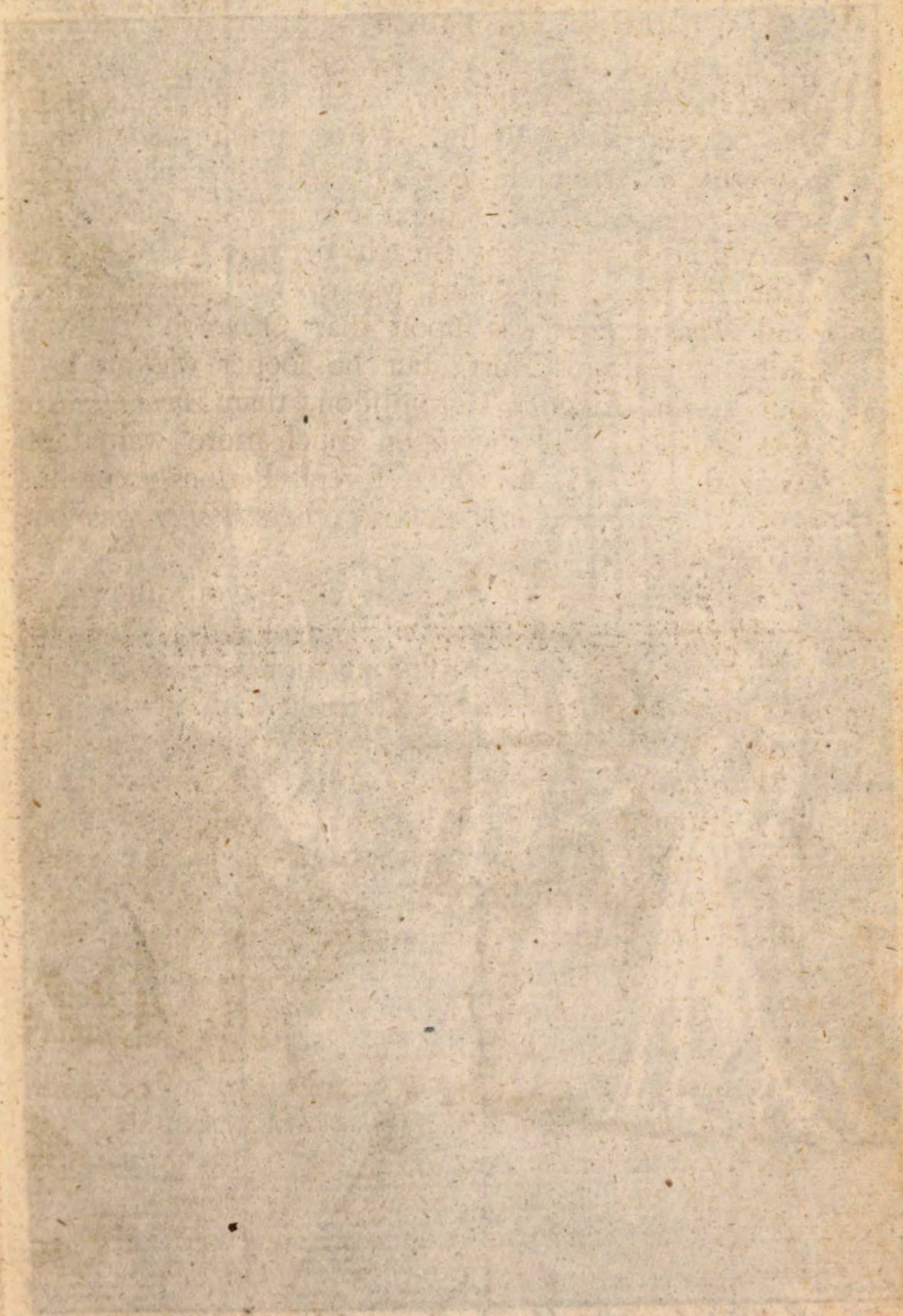
If this was the Case in respect to the King’s favourite Lady, why should we wonder at his Majesty’s Conduct? whose Uneasiness must needs be much

heightened, on seeing himself thus disappointed by Queen *Catharine's* continuing obstinate, and refusing to accept of any Expedient, that might debar her from being his Wife, and facilitate his flying into his beloved *Anna's* Arms: — For though, even after *Campeius's* Arrival in *England*, the King and Queen eat at one Table and lodged in one Bed, there being no visible Sign of any Breach between them; yet, after the *Legantine* Court was opened, they parted, and *Anna Bulleyn* was upon that Occasion removed some time from Court; but no sooner was an End put to the *Legatine* Commission, than *Anna Bulleyn* was recalled, and thereupon much more waited on than the Queen, at which several Persons expressed great Uneasiness, and among others *Wolsey* was one of the first.

Anna Bulleyn greatly in Favour. Upon the great Favour shewn to *Anna Bulleyn* by the King, and her being introduced to Court in so pompous a Manner, a fine Representation has been given us in a Print, wherein *Henry* appears leading *Anna Bulleyn* by the Hand; Queen *Catherine*, sitting in a mournful Posture; Lord *Piercy*, Mrs. *Anna's* first Lover, standing by the Queen's Chair; and *Wolsey*, leaning on his Throne of State, in a thoughtful Mood: Under which are the following Lines,

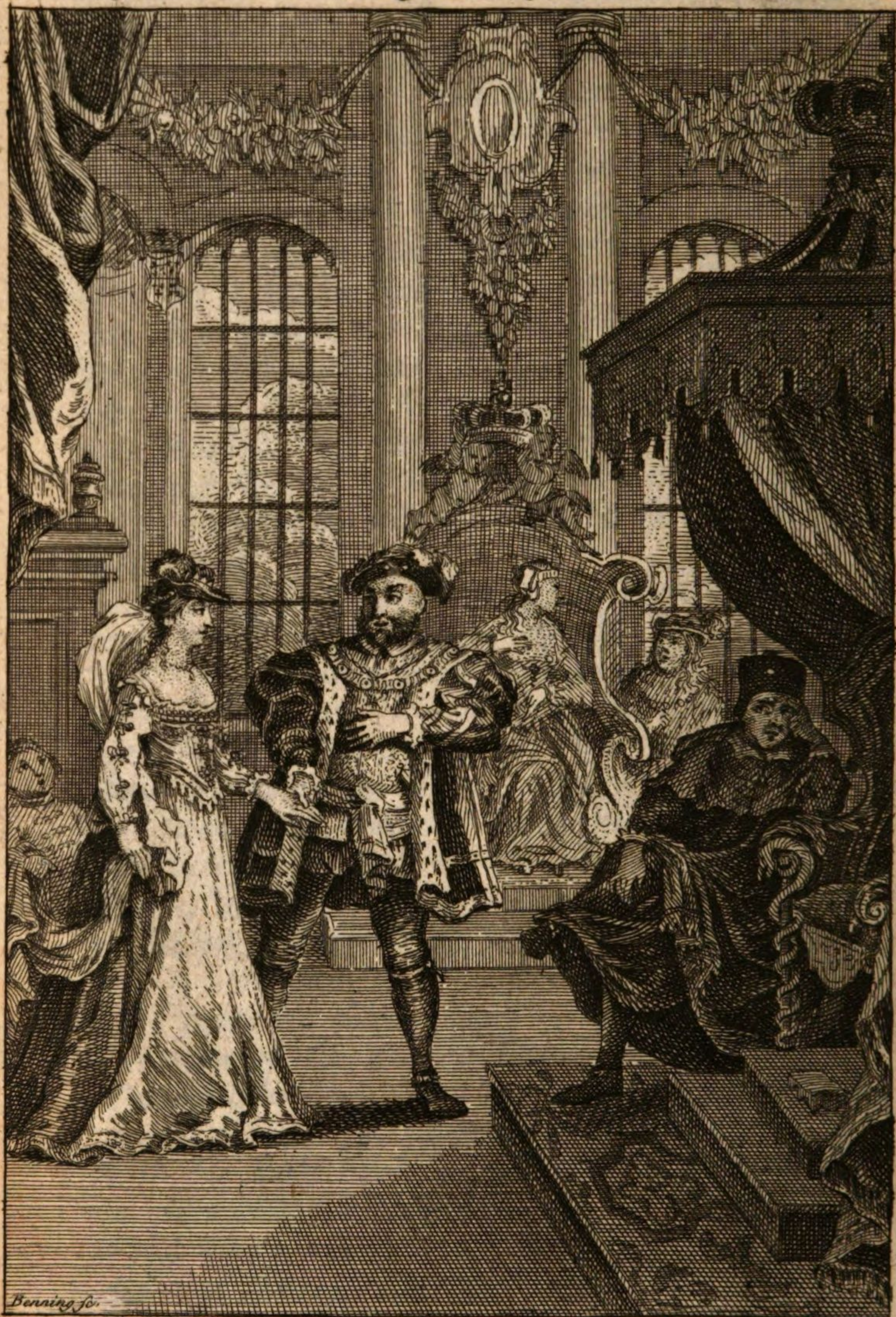
*Here struts old pious HARRY, once the Great
Reformer of the English Church and State:
'Twas thus he stood, when ANNA BULLEYN's Charms
Allur'd the amorous Monarch to her Arms:
With his Right-hand he leads her as his own,
To place this matchless Beauty on his Throne:
Whilst KATE and PIERCY mourn their wretched Fate,
And view the royal Pair with equal Hate;
Reflecting on the Pomp of glittering Crowns,
And arbitrary Power that knows no Bounds:*

Whilst



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K. Henry the 8th introducing the Lady Anna Bulleyn to Court.



Benning sc.

To the Right Hon.^{ble} the Lady Elizabeth Germain,
this Plate is most humbly Incribed by her
Ladyship's Duttyful Servant Joseph Grove.

*Whilst WOLSEY, leaning on his Throne of State,
Through this unhappy Change foresees his Fate;
Contemplates wisely on worldly Things,
The Cheat of Grandeur, and the Faith of Kings.*

The King was now upon a Tour into the Country, accompanied by his *most lovely* *She*. Being arrived at *Grafton* in *Northamptonshire*, the two Cardinals soon followed the Court, when it quickly appeared the Scene was changed; * for here they found a very cold Reception, tho' some Marks of Distinction were shewn to *Campeius* as a Stranger, and

The King arrives at Grafton with Anna Bulleyn, and the two Cardinals follow.

* *Shakespear* has finely touched these Matters.

Enter Duke of Norfolk, Duke of Suffolk, Lord Surry, and Lord Chamberlain.

Nor. If you will now unite in your Complaints,
And force them with a Constancy, the Cardinal
Cannot stand under them: If you omit
The Offer of this Time, I cannot promise
But that you shall sustain more new Disgraces,
With these you bear already.

Sur. I am joyful
To meet the least Occasion that may give me
Remembrance of my Father-in-law, the Duke,
To be reveng'd on him.

Suff. Which of the Peers
Have unctemn'd gone by him, or at least
Strangely neglected? When did he regard
The Stamp of Nobleness in any Person
Out of himself?

Cham. My Lords, you speak your Pleasures:
What he deserves of you and me I know:
What we can do to him (tho' now the Time
Gives way to us) I much fear. If you cannot
Bar his Access to th' King, never attempt
Any thing on him; for he hath a Witchcraft
Over the King in's Tongue.

Nor. O fear him not,
His Spell in that is out; the King hath found
Matter against him that for ever mars

and a Person of publick Character : But the Cardinal of *England*, after he had waited on his Brother *Legate* to his Apartment, thinking to go directly to his own, was told by one of the Officers, *That no Provision for his Reception had been made in the Court* : At which he was much surprized, having never been treated near the King's Person with any such Neglect before. However, as the King's Displeasure against the Cardinal was not then publickly known, but only whispered about, Sir *John Norris*, in a very obliging Manner, made him an Offer of his own Lodgings, till some other Provision could be made, which

The Honey of his Language. No, he's settled,
Not to come off in his most high Displeasure.

Sur. I should be glad to hear such News as this
Once every Hour.

Nor. Believe it, this is true.
In the Divorce, his contrary Proceedings
Are all unfolded ; wherein he appears
As I would wish mine Enemy.

Sur. How came
His Practices to light ?

Suff. Most strangely.

Sur. How ?

Suff. The Cardinal's Letters to the Pope miscarried,
And came to th' Eye o'th' King ; wherein was read,
How that the Cardinal did intreat his Holiness
To stay the Judgment o'th' Divorce ; for if
It did take place, I do, quoth he, perceive
My King is tangled in Affection to
A Creature of the Queen's, Lady *Anna Bulleyn*.

Sur. Has the King this ?

Suff. Believe it.

Sur. Will this work ?

Cham. The King in this perceives him, how he coasts
And hedges his own Way. But in this Point
All his Tricks founder ; and he brings his Physick
After his Patient's Death ; the King already
Hath married the fair Lady.

Sur. Would he had !

Suff. May you be happy in your Wish, my Lord,
For I profess you have it.

Sur. Now all Joy
Trace the Conjunction.

Suff.

which the Cardinal accepted of. When he came afterwards into the King's Presence, he received him graciously, to the utmost Mortification of many Lords, who had been foolish enough to lay Wagers, *That the King would not speak to him.* Yet these Legates dined not with the King, who could not be spared from spending that Time with *Anna Bulleyn* in her own Chamber; and our Author says, "They were thought innocent Freedoms at that Time," which would be difficult to recon-

Wolsey is
received
graciously.

Suff. My Amen to't.

Nor. All Men's.

Suff. There's Order given for her Coronation:
Marry this is but young, and may be left
To some Ears unrecounted. But, my Lords,
She is a gallant Creature, and compleat
In Mind and Feature. I persuade me from her
Will fall some Blessing to this Land, * which shall
In it be memoriz'd.

Sur. But will the King
Digest this Letter of the Cardinal's?
The Lord forbid!

Nor. Marry, Amen.

Suff. No, no:
There be more Wasps that buz about his Nose,
Will make this sting the sooner. Cardinal *Campeius*
Is stol'n away to *Rome*, has ta'en no Leave, and
Hath left th' Cause t'th' King unhandled,
Is posted as the Agent of our Cardinal,
To second all his Plot. I do assure you,
The King cry'd *Ha!* at this.

Cham. Now God incense him;
And let him cry, *Ha!* louder,

Nor. But my Lord,
When returns *Cranmer*?

Suff. He is return'd with his Opinions,
Which have satisfied the King for his Divorce,
Gather'd from all the famous Colleges
Almost in *Christendom*: Soon, I believe,
His second Marriage shall be publish'd, and
Her Coronation. *Katherine* no more
Shall be call'd Queen, but Princess Dowager,
A Widow to Prince *Arthur*.

Nor.

* This Speech seems to be suited to the Time the Author lived in,
Queen Elizabeth's.

reconcile with the strict Maxims of Behaviour, that obtain among young Ladies of the first Distinction at present.

Cavendish relates the Manner of that Lady's Behaviour at Dinner with his Majesty in Terms significant enough; to whom we shall refer.

Cardinal *Wolsey*, after Dinner, waited on the King, who received him with seeming Pleasure, had a long serious Discourse with him, and then, taking him by the Hand, led him into the Privy Chamber, where he

Nor. This same *Cranmer's*
A worthy Fellow, and hath ta'en much Pain
In the King's Business.

Suff. He has, and we shall see him
For it an Archbishop.

Nor. So I hear,

Suff. 'Tis so,

Enter Wolsey and Cromwell.

The Cardinal.

Nor. Observe, observe, he's moody.

Wol. The Packet, *Cromwell*!

Gave it you the King?

Cromw. To his own Hand, in's Bed-chamber,

Wol. Look'd he o'th' Inside of the Paper?

Cromw. Presently

He did unseal them, and the first he view'd,

He did it with a serious Mind; a Heed

Was in his Countenance. You he bad

Attend him here this Morning.

Wol. Is he ready to come Abroad?

Cromw. I think by this he is.

Wol. Leave me a while.

[Exit Cromwell.

It shall be to the Dutchess of *Alençon*,

[Aside.

The *French* King's Sister; he shall marry her.

Anne Bulleyn!—No, I'll no *Anne Bulleyn's* for him,——

There's more in't than fair Visage—*Bulleyn*!——

No, we'll no *Bulleyn's*!——speedily I wish

To hear from *Rome*,——the Marchioness of *Pembroke*!——

Nor. He's discontented.

Suff. May be he hears the King
Does whet his Anger to him.

Sur. Sharp enough,
Lord, for thy Justice!

Wol.

he was for a considerable Time alone with him ; upon which his Enemies were under great Uneasiness, lest they should miscarry in their Designs of ruining him with his Master. What passed between the King and the Cardinal does not appear : But after all his Majesty was determined to disgrace his Minister, at the Request of his Favourite, and his other Enemies about the Court ; though it is said, the King had Conflicts within himself, before he could be firmly fixed in his Resolution of sacrificing an old and faithful Ser-

Wolf. [*Aside.*] The late Queen's Gentlewoman, a Knight's Daughter !

To be her Mistress's Mistress ! the Queen's Queen !—
This Candle burns not clear, 'tis I must snuff it,
Then out it goes.——What tho' I know her virtuous, *
And well-deserving ; yet I know her for
A spleeny *Lutheran*, and not wholesome to
Our Cause !—that she should lie i'th' Bosom of
Our hard-rul'd King !—Again, there is sprung up
An Heretick, an arch one, *Cranmer*, one
Hath crawl'd into the Favour of the King,
And is his Oracle.

Nor. He's vex'd at something.

Enter King, reading of a Schedule.

Sur. I would 'twere something that would fret the String,
The Master-cord of's Heart.

Suff. The King ! the King !

King. What Piles of Wealth hath he accumulated †
To his own Portion ! what Expence by th' Hour
Seems to flow from him ! how in the Name of Thrift
Does he rake this together ! Now, my Lords,
Saw you the Cardinal ?

Nor. My Lord, we have
Stood here observing him. Some strange Commotion
Is in his Brain ; he bites his Lips and starts,
Stops on a sudden, looks upon the Ground,
Then lays his Finger on his Temple ; strait
Springs out into fast Gate, then stops again,
Strikes his Breast hard, and then anon he casts
His Eye against the Moon ; in most strange Postures
We've seen him set himself.

King.

* This also looks like temporizing.

† Great indeed ! but for whose Use the Sequel shews.

Servant; but then, *Love prevailed over all Considerations; and who can withstand it?*

Matters being in this Situation Part of the Evening was spent by *Anna Bulleyn*, in contriving with the Cardinal's Foes, how to divert the King the next Morning, from having any Conversation with him; though his Majesty had then commanded his Attendance, and said, *he would talk further with him.* This she thoroughly accomplished; for, when the Car-

King. It may well be;
There is a Mutiny in's Mind. This Morning
Papers of State he sent me to peruse,
As I requir'd; and wot you what I found
There, on my Conscience, but unwittingly,
Forsooth, an Inventory, thus importing
The several Parcels of his Plate, his Treasure,
Rich Stuffs and Ornaments of Household, which
I find at such a proud Rate, it out-speaks
Possession of a Subject.

Nor. It's Heaven's Will,
Some Spirit put this Paper in the Packet;
To bless your Eye withal.

King. If we did think
His Contemplations were above the Earth,
And fix'd on spiritual Objects, he should still
Dwell in his Musings; but I'm afraid
His Thinkings are below the Moon, nor worth
His serious considering.

He takes his Seat, whispers Lovel, who goes to Wolsey.

Wol. Heav'n forgive me —
Ever God bless your Highness. —

King. Good my Lord,
You are full of heavenly Stuff, and bear the *Inventory*
Of your best Grace's in your Mind; the which
You were now running o'er; you have scarce Time
To steal from spiritual Leisure a brief Span
To Keep your earthly Audit; sure in that
I deem you an ill Husband, and am glad
To have you therein my Companion.

Wol. Sir,
For holy Offices I have a Time;
A Time to think upon the Part of Business
I bear i'th' State; and Nature does require

Her

Cardinal came in Obedience to that Command, the King was just ready to mount his Horse, and, without taking further notice of him, in a cool Manner ordered him to *consult with the Lords of the Council*: Anna Bulleyn also passed *Wolsey* with an insulting Mein, and rode to take the Air with the King; and, to prevent his Return before the Cardinal's Departure, had taken care to provide an Entertainment for his Majesty in *Hanwell-park*.

The King neglects him at the 2d Meeting.

The Her Times of Preservation, which per Force I, her frail Son, amongst my Brethren mortal, Must give my 'Tendance to.

King. You have said well.

Wolf. And ever may your Highness yoke together, As I will lend you Cause, my doing well With my Well-saying.

King. 'Tis well said again, And 'tis a kind of good Deed to say well. And yet Words are no Deeds. My Father lov'd you; He said he did, and with this Deed did crown His Word upon you. Since I had my Office I've kept you next my Heart; have not alone Imploy'd you where high Profits might come Home, But par'd my present Havings to bestow My Bounties upon you.

Wolf. What should this mean?

Sur. The Lord increase this Business!

King. Have I not made you The prime Man of the State? I pray you tell me, If what I now pronounce you have found true: And, if you may confess it, say withal, If you are bound to us or no? What say you?

Wolf. My Sovereign, I confess your Royal Graces, Showr'd on me daily, have been more than could My studied Purposes require, which went Beyond all Man's Endeavours. My Endeavours Have ever come too short of my Desires; Yet, fill'd with my Abilities, mine own Ends have been such, that evermore they pointed To th' Good of your most Sacred Person, and The Profit of the State: For your great Graces

[*Aside.*

[*Aside.*

The King's leaving the Cardinal in so abrupt a Manner proved in the Event the decisive Stroke ; but he was too wise to expose himself to the Railery of the Court, by waiting for his Majesty's Return, which *Anna Bulleyn* had taken so effectual a Precaution to retard, judging rightly, that there was no contending for him against the Power of this Lady

Heap'd upon me, poor Undeserver, I
Can nothing render but allegiant Thanks,
My Prayers to Heav'n for you ; my Loyalty,
Which ever has, and ever shall be growing,
'Till Death, that Winter, kill it.

King. Fairly answer'd :

A loyal and obedient Subject is
Therein illustrated : The Honour of it
Does pay the Act of it, i'th' contrary,
The Foulness is the Punishment. I presume,
That as my Hand has open'd Bounty to you,
My Heart dropp'd Love, my Pow'r rain'd Honour, more
On you, than any ; so your Hand and Heart,
Your Brain, and every Function of your Power,
Should, notwithstanding that your Bond of Duty,
As 'twere in Love's Particular, be more
To me your Friend than any.

Wolfs. I profess

That for your Highness' Good I ever labour'd
More than my own ; that am I, have been, will be :
Tho' all the World should crack their Duty to you,
And throw it from their Soul ; tho' Perils did
Abound, as thick as Thought could make 'em, and
Appear in Forms more horrid ; yet my Duty,
As doth a Rock against the chiding Flood,
Should the Approach of this wild River break,
And stand unshaken yours *

King. 'Tis nobly spoken ;

Take notice, Lords, he has a loyal Breast,
For you have seen him open't. Read o'er this, [*Giving him Papers.*
And after this ; and then to Breakfast with
What Appetite you may.

[*Exit King, frowning upon Cardinal Wolsey, the Nobles throng after him, whispering and smiling.*

Wolfs.

* *The last Time of his seeing the King.*

Lady over the Person in whose Breast she had already, in so triumphant a Manner, established her Empire; and therefore immediately after Dinner he departed with his Colleague, *Campeius*, for *London*, in their Way to which they had much serious Discourse on this Presage of the great Calamities which shortly after fell heavy on *Wolsey*

L 1 2

The

Wolfs. What should this mean!
 What sudden Anger's this? How have I reap'd it?
 He parted frowning from me, as if Ruin
 Leap'd from his Eyes. — So looks the chafed Lion
 Upon the daring Huntsman that has gall'd him,
 Then makes him nothing. — I must read this Paper:
 I fear the Story of his Anger — 'Tis so —
 This Paper has undone me — 'Tis th' Account
 Of all that World of Wealth I've drawn together
 For mine own Ends, indeed, to gain the Popedom,
 And see my Friends in *Rome*. O Negligence!
 Fit for a Fool to fall by. What cross Devil
 Made me put this main Secret in the Packet
 I sent the King? Is there no Way to cure this?
 No new Device to beat this from his Brains?
 I know 'twill stir him strongly; yet I know
 A Way, if I take right, in spite of Fortune,
 Will bring me off again. — What's this — *To the Pope?*
 The Letter, as I live, with all the Business
 I writ to's Holiness. Nay, then farewell;
 I've touch'd the highest Point of all my Greatness,
 And, from that full Meridian of my Glory,
 I haste now to my Setting. I shall fall
 Like a bright Exhalation in the Evening,
 And no Man see me more.

Tho' *Shakespear* ascribes, as one of the Causes of the Cardinal's Disgrace, to his designing to send to *Rome* the great Wealth he had got together, which Account he has taken from some of our old Chronicle Writers, who relate their Hearsay without any Evidence whatsoever, all his great Wealth, as it afterwards appeared, consisted only in rich Goods, and some Jewels, not in Money; and, whatever it was, the King had all at last.

*The Cardinal
returns to Lon-
don.*

The Cardinal was no sooner got to London, but his Enemies set the Lawyers to work in drawing up *Indictments, Articles*, and other Charges for male Administration, NATURAL TREATMENT TO FALLEN MINISTERS; but they did not think proper to exhibit them till after *Campeius* was departed the Kingdom; and that he might the sooner be gone, in order to give him his Audience of Leave, the King hastened to London, where *Campeius* was soon introduced to his Majesty. The King had such a Command of himself

*Campeius has
his Audience of
Leave.*

as to take no notice of *Campeius's* Proceedings, but looked pleasantly on him, and wished him a good Journey. Being returned from his Audience, he took an affectionate Leave of his Brother Cardinal, and then prepared to embark.

His Baggage was sent before him to be put on Board the Ship, where the *Custom-house* Officers thoroughly searched it, under Pretence of looking for contraband Goods; but Bishop *Burnet* assigns us two Reasons for this Search; 1st, in hopes of catching *Wolsey's* Treasure among it; 2^{dly}, of finding the King's Love-letters to *Anna Bulleyn*, which were privately conveyed out of his Cabinet and sent to *Rome*, where he saw them in the *Vatican* Library; for, he knowing the King's Hand, he was convinced they were writ by him, though so ill wrote, they were scarce legible, and the *French* faulty; which he got Dr. *Fell* to copy out for him. But the Bishop's Disciple, *Rapin*, gives us a 3^d Reason; "It is probable, says he, the King hoped to find the Decretal Bull, which he had seen in his Hands, not knowing it was burnt."

Campeius made loud Complaints of this Insult, and writ to the King to demand Satisfaction, as an Affront of the highest Nature done to the Legate of the

the Holy See. To this the King answered, on the 22d of Oct. "His Officers had only done their Duty, in
"executing Orders long since established, with regard
"to Persons going out of the Kingdom: That he
"was surprized he should talk of being Legate when
"recalled; and much more at his being so ignorant,
"in regard he was Bishop of *Salisbury*, of the Laws
"of the Land, as to dare to assume that Title without
"his License." Nevertheless, *Wolsey* was afterwards destroyed, tho' he acted as Legate with his License.

Campeius, perceiving by this Answer that the King intended not to give him Satisfaction, thought himself very happy that he was even suffered to depart. Indeed, he had good Reason to wish himself out of the Kingdom, since he could not be unacquainted how angry the King was at the Disappointment he had met with.

And, now we are speaking of *Campeius*, we think it here incumbent on us to do an Act of Justice to the Memory of this great Man, who has been represented by Bishop *Burnet*, upon the Authority of an obscure Libel, as leading at that Time a very dissolute Life, "Hunting and Gaming all the Day long, and
"following Whores at Night, as a vile, vicious
"Stranger and Priest, who lived in *England* in all
"manner of Disorders, in which both he and his
"Bastard-son were guilty."

Campeius justified from some unfair Reflections.

In the first Place it was not his Bastard, but his legitimate Son, who was knighted by the King; that Cardinal, being at first a married Man, had had five Children; but, his Wife dying, he took Orders, and was in time promoted to the Purple.

Whether any Liberties taken by the young Knight, or *Campana*, who the Pope sent over to *Campeius*, and was one of his Bed-chamber when in *England*, might occasion this Scandal is uncertain: It is, however,

ever, ungenerous to determine any thing with Assurance, concerning the Matter, on the single Evidence of a Traveller in a foreign Country, afterwards hanged for Treason in his own: Neither does the Cardinal's Age, or the State of his Health at that Time, agree with this Character; but, allowing our *English* Air so healthful and restorative, that it might contribute to make an old Gentleman (so violently afflicted with the Gout upon his first coming over, that he could neither go nor stand) in a few Months vigorous and luxuriant, it may still become us to consider a little, what sort of Character he bore in the World, among several Persons of Probity and Credit, before we pass such a gross Censure on him.

Hall, who lived at that Time in *London*, and was no Stranger to this Legate's Course of Life, and rarely suffers any Opportunity of exposing the Clergy to escape him, says, "*Campeius* was a Man of great Wit and Experience; better learned in the Papal Laws than in Divinity."—Father *Paul* styles him, a Man of Wisdom and Authority."—*Godwin*, "No bad Man, and a sincere Speaker;"—*Fuller*, a good, heavy Man."—*Polydor Virgil* has these Words, *Inter juris consultos jure consultissimus!*—*Erasmus* these, *Reverendissime Domine, virtutum tuarum insignium, & eruditionis rarissimæ fama, inflammatus jampridem gestio, & nosse propius & coram adorare,—Insignem heroa & ecclesiæ Romanæ columen.*—After seeing these, what can we think of our learned Prelate's Character?

The only Ground of Complaint *Fox* had against him, was for his Reply to the People of *Strasburg*, which at most only argues his strict Adherence to the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church, and the more likely he should incline to punish than encourage Incontinency in the Clergy; which, if he had notoriously exemplified, as he is represented to have done in his own Conduct, the Success of his Missions, twice into *Germany*, and once into *England*, had been not only unlike-

unlikely, but the Consistency of deputing such a one, from a Court so refined and so cautious in its Measures, as that of *Rome*, altogether incompatible.

But, to return, the King's Anger against *Wolsey* was so great, that he had scarce Patience to stay till *Campeius* was gone out of the Kingdom, before he caused Prosecutions to be publickly set on foot against him. The Writer of the *Church History* gives us this Account of the Steps taken to disgrace the Cardinal.

*The King orders
Wolsey to be pro-
secuted at Law.*

“ *Wolsey's* Honours were gradually obtained, but
“ his Fall was sudden, and without any apparent
“ Misbehaviour against the Prince whom he had
“ always laboured to serve. The King, being very
“ much out of Temper upon Account of the *Avocation*
“ of his Cause, from the *Legatine* Court in *England*
“ to the *Consistorial* Court at *Rome*, and having given
“ ear to a great many disserviceable Reports against
“ the Cardinal, ordered his two sworn Enemies, the
“ Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, to go to him, *October*
“ the 18th, and in the King's Name to
“ demand the Great Seal * from him, and
“ let him know, that it was his Majesty's
“ Pleasure, that he should immediately

*Dismisses him
from his Office
of Chancellor.*

“ depart

* *Shakespear* describes the Manner of the King's sending for the Great Seal, and what ensued, in the following moving Relation.

Enter to Wolsey the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earl of Surry, and the Lord Chamberlain.

Nor. Hear the King's Pleasure, Cardinal, who commands you
To render up the Great Seal presently
Into our Hands, and to confine yourself
To *Asher-house*, my Lord of *Winchester's*,
'Till you hear further from his Highness.

Wol. Stay :

Where's your Commission, Lords ? Words cannot carry
Authority so mighty.

Suff.

“ depart from his Palace, called *York-house*, and retire
 “ to *Esher*, a Country-seat near *Hampton-court*, and
 “ belonging to the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Tempo-
 “ ralities

Suff. Who dare cross 'em,
 Bearing the King's Will from his Mouth expressly ?

Wolf. 'Till I find more than Will, or Words to do it,
 I mean your Malice, know, officious Lords,
 I dare, and must deny it. Now I feel
 Of what coarse Metal ye are molded,——Envy :
 How eagerly ye follow my Disgrace !

As if it fed ye, and how sleek and wanton
 Y'appear in every Thing may bring my Ruin !
 Follow your envious Courses, Men of Malice !
 You have a *Christian* Warrant for 'em, and
 In time will find their fit Rewards. That Seal,
 You ask with such a Violence, the King
 (Mine and your Master) with his own Hand gave me ;
 Bad me enjoy it, with the Place and Honours,
 During my Life ; and, to confirm his Goodness,
 Ty'd it by Letters Patent. Now who'll take it ?

Sur. The King that gave it.

Wolf. It must be himself then.

Sur. Thou'rt a proud Traitor, Priest !

Wolf. Proud Lord, thou lyest !

Within these forty Hours *Surry* durst better
 Have burnt that Tongue, than said so.

Sur. Thy Ambition,
 Thou scarlet Sin, robb'd this bewailing Land
 Of noble *Buckingham*, * my Father in-law ;
 The Heads of all thy Brother Cardinals,
 With thee and all thy best Parts bound together,
 Weigh'd not a Hair of his. Plague of your Policy !
 You sent me Deputy for *Ireland*,
 Far from his Succour ; from the King, from all
 That might have Mercy on the Fault thou gav'st him ;
 Whilst your great Goodness, out of holy Pity,
 Absolv'd him with an Ax.

Wolf. This, and all else
 This talking Lord can lay upon my Credit,
 I answer is most false. The Duke by Law
 Found his Deserts. How innocent I was
 From any private Malice in his End,
 His noble Jury and foul Cause can witness.

If

* Yet Norfolk, *Surry's* own Father, sat as Lord High Steward,
 and passed Sentence of Death on him.

“ ralities whereof had lately been conferr’d on the
 “ Cardinal. Upon the Delivery of this Message,
 “ the Cardinal refused to obey, unless they could
 “ shew

If I lov’d many Words, Lord, I should tell you,
 You have as little Honesty as Honour;
 That, in the Way of Loyalty and Truth
 Toward the King, my ever Royal Master,
 Dare mate a fonder Man than *Surry* can be,
 And all that love his Follies.

Sur. By my Soul,
 Your long Coat, Priest, protects you, thou shouldst feel
 My Sword i’th’ Life-blood of thee else! — My Lords,
 Can you endure to hear this Arrogance?
 And from this Fellow? If we live thus tamely,
 To be thus jaded by a Piece of Scarlet,
 Farewel Nobility, let his Grace go forward,
 And dare us with his Cap, like Larks.

Wolf. All Goodness
 Is poison to thy Stomach.

Sur. Yes, that *Goodness*
 Of gleaning all the Land’s Wealth into one,
 Into your own Hands, Card’nal, by Extortion:
 The *Goodness* of your intercepted Packets,
 You writ to th’ Pope, against the King; your *Goodness*,
 Since you provoke me, shall be most notorious.
 My Lord of *Norfolk*, as you’re truly noble,
 As you respect the Common Good, the State
 Of our despis’d Nobility, our Issues,
 Who, if he live, will scarce be Gentlemen,
 Produce the grand Sum of his Sins, the Articles
 Collected from his Life. I’ll startle you
 Worse than the scaring Bell, when the brown Wench
 Lay kissing in your Arms, Lord Cardinal.

Wolf. How much methinks I could despise this Man,
 But that I’m bound in Charity against it.

Nor. Those Articles, my Lord, are in th’ King’s Hand:
 But thus much, they are foul one’s.

Wolf. So much fairer
 And Spotless shall mine Innocence arise,
 When the King knows my Truth.

Sur. This cannot save you:
 I thank my Memory, yet I remember
 Some of these Articles, and out they shall. —
 Now, if you can, blush, and cry, *Guilty*, Cardinal,
 You’ll shew a little Honesty.

“ shew him a written Order, signed by the King;
 “ further adding, *That he held that Place by Patent*
 “ *for Life.* His Refusal being signified to the King,
 “ he

Wolf. Speak on, Sir,
 I dare your worst Objections: If I blush,
 It is to see a Nobleman want Manners.

Sur. I'd rather want those than my Head; have at you.
 First, That, without the King's Assent or Knowledge,
 You wrought to be a Legate, by which Power
 You maim'd the Jurisdiction of all Bishops.

Nor. Then, That, in all you writ to *Rome*, or else
 To foreign Princes, *Ego & Rex meus*
 Was still inscrib'd, in which you brought the King
 To be your Servant.

Suff. That, without the Knowledge
 Either of King or Council, when you went
 Ambassador to the Emperor, you made bold
 To carry into *Flanders* the Great Seal.

Sur. Item, You sent a large Commission
 To *Gregory de Cassali*, to conclude,
 Without the King's Will, or the State's Allowance,
 A League between his Highness and *Ferrara*.

Suff. That, out of meer Ambition, you have made
 Your holy Hat be stamp'd on the King's Coin.

Sur. That you have sent innumerable Substance
 (By what Means got I leave to your own Conscience)
 To furnish *Rome*, and to prepare the Ways
 You have for Dignities, to the mere undoing
 Of all the Kingdom. Many more there are,
 Which, since they are of you, and odious,
 I will not taint my Mouth with.

Cham. O, my Lord,
 Press not a falling Man too far; 'tis Virtue:
 His Faults lie open to the Laws; let them,
 Not you, correct him. My Heart weeps to see him
 So little of his great Self.

Sur. I forgive him.

Suff. Lord Cardinal, the King's further Pleasure is,
 (Because all those Things you have done of late,
 By your Pow'r Legatine, within this Kingdom,
 Fall in the Compass of a Premunire)
 That therefore such a Writ be sued against you,
 To forfeit all your Goods, Lands, Tenements,
 Castles, and whatsoever, and to be
 Out of the King's Protection. This is my Charge.

Nor.

“ he sent the same Persons the next Day with a
 “ peremptory Command to deliver up the Great Seal
 “ without the least Demurr, which was done accord-
 M m 2 “ ingly

Nor. * And so we'll leave you to your Meditations
 How to live better. For your stubborn Answer,
 About the giving back the Great Seal to us,
 The King shall know it, and no doubt shall thank you.
 So fare you well, my little good Lord Cardinal.

[*Exeunt all but Wolsey.*]

Wol. So farewell to the little Good you bear me.
 Farewel, a long Farewel, to all my Greatness!
 This is the State of Man; To-day he puts forth
 The tender Leaves of Hopes, To-morrow blossoms,
 And bears his blushing Honours thick upon him:
 The third Day comes a Frost, a killing Frost,
 And, when he thinks, good easy Man, full surely,
 His Greatness is a ripening, nips his Root,
 And then he falls, as I do. I have ventur'd,
 Like little wanton Boys, that swim on Bladders,
 These many Summers in a Sea of Glory;
 But far beyond my Depth: My high-blown Pride
 At Length broke under me, and now has left me,
 Weary, and old with Service, to the Mercy
 Of a rude Stream, that must for ever hide me.
 Vain Pomp and Glory of the World! I hate ye.
 I feel my Heart new open'd. O how wretched
 Is that poor Man that hangs on Princes Favours!
 ' There is, betwixt that Smile we would aspire to,
 That sweet Aspect of Princes, an our Ruin,
 More Pangs and Fears, than War or Women have.
 And, when he falls, he falls like *Lucifer*,
 Never to hope again.

Enter Cromwell, standing amazed.

Why, how now, Cromwell?

Cromw. I have no Power to speak, Sir.

Wol. What, amaz'd

At my Misfortunes! Can thy Spirit wonder
 A great Man should decline? Nay, If you weep,
 I'm fall'n indeed.

Cromw. How does your Grace?

Wol. Why, well;

Never so truly happy, my good Cromwell.

I know myself now, and I feel within me

* The Duke introduced in this Scene had been dead five Years,
 and Surry, Buckingham's Son-in-Law, was then Duke of Norfolk.

“ ingly by the Cardinal ; yet not without some tart
 “ Reflections on the Messengers, who, not without
 “ Grounds,

A Peace above all earthly Dignities,
 A still and quiet Conscience. The King has cur'd me,
 I humbly thank his Grace ; and from these Shoulders,
 These ruin'd Pillars, out of Pity, taken
 A Load would sink a Navy, too much Honour.
 O 'tis a Burden ! *Cromwell*, 'tis a Burden
 Too heavy for a Man that hopes for Heav'n.

Cromw. I'm glad your Grace has made that right Use of it.

Wolf. I hope I have : I'm able now, methinks,
 Out of a Fortitude of Soul I feel,
 T'endure more Miseries, and greater far
 Than my weak-hearted Enemies dare offer.
 What News abroad ?

Cromw. The heaviest, and the worst,
 Is your Displeasure with the King.

Wolf God blefs him !

Cromw. The next is, that Sir *Thomas More* is chosen
 Lord Chancellor in your Place.

Wolf. That's somewhat sudden——
 But he's a learned Man. May he continue
 Long in his Highness' Favour, and do Justice,
 For Truth's Sake and his Conscience, that his Bones,
 When he has run his Course and sleeps in Blessings,
 May have a Tomb of Orphans Tears wept on him.
 What more ?

Cromw. That *Cranmer* is return'd with Welcome ;
 Install'd Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *

Wolf. That's News indeed.

Cromw. Last, that the Lady *Anne*,
 Whom the King hath in Secrecy long married,
 This Day was view'd in open, as his Queen, †
 Going to Chapel, and the Voice is now
 Only about her Coronation.

Wolf. There was the Weight that pull'd me down, O *Cromwell* !
 The King has gone beyond me : All my Glories,
 In that one Woman, I have lost for ever.
 No Sun shall ever usher forth my Honours,
 Or guild again the noble Troops that waited
 Upon my Smiles. Go get thee from me, *Cromwell*,
 I am a poor fall'n Man, unworthy now
 To be thy Lord and Master. Seek the King,
 (That Sun, I pray may never set) Iv'e told him,
 What and how true thou art ; he will advance thee ; Some

* This did not happen till some Time after the Cardinal's Death.

† Nor this.

“ Grounds, were suspected to have the chief Hand
“ in his Disgrace.” Other

Some little Memory of me will stir him,
I know his noble Nature, not to let
Thy hopeful Service perish too. Good *Cromwell*,
Neglect him not; make use now, and provide
For thine own future Safety.

Cromw. O my Lord!

Must then I leave you? must I needs forego
So good, so noble, and so true a Master?
Bear witness, all that have not Hearts of Iron,
With what a Sorrow *Cromwell* leaves his Lord.
The King shall have my Service; but my Prayers
For ever and for ever shall be yours.

Wolfs. *Cromwell*, I did not think to shed a Tear
In all my Miseries; but thou hast forc'd me,
Out of thy honest Truth, to play the Woman.
Let's dry our Eyes: And thus far hear me, *Cromwell*,
And when I am forgotten, as I shall be,
And sleep in dull cold Marble, where no mention
Of me must more be heard, say then I taught thee,
Say, *Wolsey*, that once trod the Ways of Glory,
And founded all the Depths and Shoals of Honour,
Found thee a Way out of his Wreck to rise in:
A sure and safe one, tho' thy Master miss'd it.
Mark but my Fall, and that which ruin'd me.
Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away Ambition,
By that Sin fell the Angels; how can Man then
(The Image of his Maker) hope to win it?
Love thy self last, cherish those Hearts that hate thee:
Corruption wins not more than Honesty.
Still in thy Right-hand carry gentle Peace,
To silence envious Tongues. Be just, and fear not.
Let all the Ends thou aim'st at be thy Country's,
Thy God's, and Truth's; then if thou fall'st, O *Cromwell*!
Thou fall'st a blessed Martyr. Serve the King;
And pr'ythee lead me in——

There take an Inventory of all I have,
To the last Penny, 'tis the King's. My Robe,
And my Integrity to Heav'n is all
I dare now call mine own. O *Cromwell*! *Cromwell*!
Had I but serv'd my God with half the Zeal
I serv'd my King, he would not, in mine Age,
Have left me naked to mine Enemies.

Cromw. Good Sir, have Patience.

Wolfs. So I have. Farewel

The Hopes of Court! my Hopes in Heav'n do dwell.

[*Exeunt.*

Other Authors say, that the first Day of *Michaelmas Term* was come, before the Cardinal's Enemies could settle how to proceed against him; and that he went to *Westminster-hall* in his usual State, and sat there for the last Time; contrary to what the Record of that Proceeding, to be seen in *Rymer's Fædera*, Vol. XIV. sets forth, which we have here introduced a Translation of.

*On the Delivery of the Great Seal. **

“ **M**emorandum, That on *Sunday* the 17th Day
 “ of *October*, in the 21st Year of King *Henry*
 “ the VIIIth's Reign, the said Lord the King's Great
 “ Seal, in the Custody of the most Rev. Father in
 “ Christ,

* *We presume it will not be thought disagreeable to subjoin some Memoirs of the Lord High Chancellors, Lord Keepers, and Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, from the Time Cardinal Wolsey delivered it up.*

1529. **U**Pon Cardinal *Wolsey's* Disgrace the Great Seal was given to Sir *Thomas More*, Oct. the 25th, with the Title of Lord Chancellor. Several of the Noblemen, who attended him the first time to *Westminster-hall*, were very full of their Compliments, but Sir *Thomas* was nothing moved thereat; indeed, it put him in mind of those who had gone before him; for, casting his Eye to the Court, where his Predecessor had sat, he broke out into these Expressions:
 ‘ But when I look upon this Seat,
 ‘ and think of what Kind of
 ‘ Personages have possessed this
 ‘ Place before me; when I call
 ‘ to mind who *He* was that
 ‘ sat in it last of all, a Man of
 ‘ what singular Wisdom, of
 ‘ what notable Experience, what
 ‘ a prosperous and favourable

‘ Fortune he had for a great
 ‘ Space, and how at last he had a
 ‘ grievous Fall, I have Cause e-
 ‘ nough, by my Predecessor's
 ‘ Example, to think Honour but
 ‘ slippery, and this Dignity not
 ‘ so grateful to me, as it may
 ‘ seem to be to others.’

Sir *Thomas* was a Gentleman of admirable Attainments in all Sorts of Learning: His *Utopia* is admired throughout *Europe*; and his History of *Richard* the III^d has obtained so much Credit with Historians, that they have entirely depended on its Authority. However, during the time he held the Seal, nothing extraordinary happened in this Court. If we believe what some Authors relate, *he did not leave one Cause to be heard*; and it is remarkable, that from his Time the Chusing Lord Chancellors from the *Laie-*

“ Christ, *Thomas*, by the Title of *St. Cecile* beyond
 “ *Tiber*, of the Holy See of *Rome*, Cardinal Priest,
 “ Archbishop of *York*, Chancellor of *England*; and
 “ kept in a certain Bag of white Leather, sealed six
 “ Times with white Wax and the Seal of the same
 “ Cardinal, was delivered by the Cardinal in Person,
 “ in Obedience to the Lord the King’s Orders, to
 “ the illustrious Princes, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*,
 “ Treasurer of *England*, and *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*,
 “ Earl Marshal of *England*, at the House of the said
 “ Cardinal at *Westminster*, and in an upper Appart-
 “ ment near the said Cardinal’s walking Place, about
 “ six of the Clock in the Evening of the same Day,
 “ in the Presence of *William Fitz Williams*, Knight,
 “ Trea-

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ty came into Use; for, upon the Seal being taken from Sir *Thomas More*,

May the 20th, his Ma-
 1533, jesty committed the Cu-
 stody of it to Sir *Thomas Audley*,
 and commanded him to be call-
 ed *Lord Keeper*; and, Sept. the
 6th, a new Seal was made and
 delivered to him; soon after
 which he was made Lord Chan-
 cellor, and created a Peer; who
 being taken ill, *Thomas* Lord
Wriothesley was, by special Com-
 mission, (as appears in *Rymer*,
 Tom. XIV. fo. 446.) appointed to
 keep and exercise the Great Seal
 during his Illness. Lord *Audley*
 was Chancellor of *England* above
 12 Years, and was a Man of con-
 summate Parts and uncommon
 Prudence, and, by his wary Ma-
 nagement, weathered King *Hen-*
ry’s boisterous Humour; died,
 crowned with much Honour,
 April the 30th, 1545, and was
 buried in the Church of *Saffron*

Walden, in *Essex*, leaving a great
 Estate to his Daughter, after-
 wards married to *Thomas* Duke
 of *Norfolk*, from whom is line-
 ally descended the present Earl
 of *Suffolk*.

May the 30th, the Lord
Wriothesley, who had been 1545.
 created Earl of *Southampton*, was
 constituted Lord high Chancellor,
 who held the Seal to the 6th of
March, 1 *Edw. VI.* when it
 was taken from him, on his
 sealing a special Commission for
 hearing Causes in Chancery,
 without Warrant from the Coun-
 cil. From this Nobleman his
 Grace *John* Duke of *Bedford*, by
 the Mother’s Side, is descended;
 whose Brother, the late Duke,
 was baptized *Wriothesley*, in or-
 der to perpetuate the Memory of
 this noble Lord.

June the 29th, it was
 committed to *William* 1547.
Paulet, Lord *St. John*, with the
 Title of *Lord Keeper*, who held
 it

“ Treasurer of the Lord the King’s Household ; *John*
 “ *Taylor Priest*, Master of the Rolls ; and *Stephen Gar-*
 “ *diner*, Priest, of the said Lord the King’s Privy
 “ Council ; in whose Presence, the said Dukes put
 “ the Seal so inclosed into another Bag of Crimson
 “ Velvet, adorn’d with the Arms and Ensigns of
 “ *England* ; and which they had sealed with red
 “ Wax by the said *Stephen Gardiner* ; and thus sealed
 “ they put it into a certain Box bound with Iron
 “ and locked, the Key whereof the said *Stephen* kept
 “ in

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it no longer than from the 29th of *June* to the 30th of *Nov.* following, 3 *Edw.* VI. he was created Earl of *Wiltshire*, and the next Year constituted Lord Treasurer of *England*. In the 5th Year of the same Reign he was honoured with the Title of Marquis of *Winchester*, and sat as High Steward upon the Trial of the Duke of *Somerset*. He was Lord Treasurer 21 Years, and died 14 *Eliz.* in the 97th Year of his Age, having lived to see 103 of his own Generation. On being asked, *How he did to bear up in the dangerous Times he passed through, wherein great Alterations were made both in Church and State ?* he replied, *By being a Willow, and not an Oak.* His Grace, the present Duke of *Bolton*, is lineally descended from this great and worthy Peer.

Nov. the 30th, in the 1547. same Year, succeeded Sir *Richard Rich*, with the Title of Lord Chancellor, from whom the present Right Hon. *Edward Rich*, Earlof *Warwick* and *Holland*, is descended.

Richard Goodrick, Bi-
 1551. shop of *Ely*, on the 19th

of *June*, succeeded Sir *Richard*. But our Author tells us, that he could find nothing memorable concerning him, only that he was the first Clergyman who had the Custody of the Great Seal since Cardinal *Wolsey*.

Stephen Gardiner, Bi-
 shop of *Winchester*, on the 1553.
 21st of *Sept.* (whose Character we have already given in the foregoing Part of this Work) succeeded *Goodrick*.

Nicholas Heath, Arch-
 bishop of *York*, on the 1555.
 1st of *Jan.* followed *Gardiner* ; his Grace was a wise and learned Man, and of great Integrity, being more devoted to pursue the Dictates of his own Conscience, than to persecute others.

Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, on
 the 4th of *April*, was 1559.
 made Keeper of the Great Seal, 1 *Eliz.* who was doubtful whether he could act with the same Authority as if he was Chancellor. To obviate this Doubt an Act passed, 5 *Eliz.* declaring,
 ‘ That the Authority of the
 ‘ Keeper of the Great Seal was
 ‘ the same with that of the
 ‘ Chancellor.” So that the Ju-
 dicial

“ in his own Custody, and delivered the Box to the
 “ before-named Mr. *John Taylor* to be carried to the
 “ Lord the King : Which *John Taylor* did afterwards,
 “ on *Wednesday* the 20th Day of *October*, in the
 “ aforefaid Year, present the Seal, locked in a Box
 “ as above fet forth, to his Majesty, in one of the in-
 “ ner Apartments, near the Oratory of the faid Lord
 “ the King, in the Castle of *Windsor*, about the Noon
 “ of the fame Day. The Lord the King then and
 “ there immediately had the Box opened, and the
 “ Great

from CARDINAL WOLSEY's Time.

dicial Authority of both thofe
 Offices, if they were before di-
 ftinct, were here united in one.
 His Lordship was educated in
Bennet's College, Cambridge ;
 and, having applied himfelf to
 the Study of the *Common Law*,
 he proved, fays the Author of
 the *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*,
 ‘ Not only a good Lawyer, but a
 ‘ Man of great Wisdom and Un-
 ‘ derftanding in all Sorts of Af-
 ‘ fairs ; he had an admirable
 ‘ Memory to recollect all the
 ‘ Circumftances of any Bufinefs
 ‘ before him, and as great Pa-
 ‘ tience to confider them ; his
 ‘ ufual Saying was, *Let us ftay*
 ‘ *a little, and we fhall have done*
 ‘ *the fooner*. Grandeur he never
 ‘ affected, as appeared from the
 ‘ Answer he made Queen *Eli-*
 ‘ *zabeth*, when ſhe paid him a
 ‘ Viſit at a neat Houſe he had in
 ‘ *Hertfordſhire*, who ſaid, *Your*
 ‘ *Houſe ſeems too little for your*
 ‘ *Lordſhip*. — No, Madam, your
 ‘ *Highneſs has made me too big for*
 ‘ *my Houſe*.

April the 25th, Thomas
 1579. *Bromley*, Eſq; Solicitor
 General, was made Lord Chan-
 Vol. IV.

cellor, and held the Seal about
 eight Years ; from whom we are
 informed the late famous *William*
Bromley, Eſq; Member for the U-
 niverſity of *Oxford*, who made ſo
 conſiderable a Figure in the World,
 was lineally deſcended.

April the 29th, the
 Seal was delivered to Sir 1587.
Chriſtopher Hatton, with the
 Title of Lord Chancellor, who
 held it till his Death. He had
 a large Share of Abilities, which
 with his extraordinary Prudence
 made him ſhine greatly. He was
 ſo exactly juſt, yet affable, that
 he was choſen to keep the
 Queen's Conſcience as Chancel-
 lor, and to expreſs her Senſe as
 Speaker. His Diſpatch was
 quick yet weighty, and his Or-
 ders many, yet conſiſtent, being
 very ſeldom reverſed, and his
 Advice in Council much prevail-
 ed. From this great Man the
 preſent Right Hon. the Lord Viſ-
 count *Hatton* is deſcended.

May the 29th, the Seal
 was delivered to Sir *John* 1592.
Puckering, with the Title of Lord
 Keeper, who alſo held it to the
 Time of his Death : But how he
 behaved

“ Great Seal, inclosed and sealed in the said Bags,
 “ taken out, and caused some Briefs and a Procla-
 “ mation, against the Exportation of Corn out of the
 “ Kingdom, to be sealed in his Presence, the said
 “ Messieurs *John Taylor* and *Stephen Gardiner*, as like-
 “ wise *Henry Norris*, *Thomas Henneage*, and others of
 “ the Lord the King’s secret Chamber; *Radolph*
 “ *Paxfall*, Clerk of the Crown of *England*; *John Croke*,
 “ Comptroller of the *Hanaper*; *John Judd*, Deputy;
 “ and *Thomas Hall*, Clerk of the said *Hanaper*, being
 “ then present. “ Mat-

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behaved during the four Years he had the Great Seal no way appears upon Record.

1596. No sooner did this Gentleman make his Exit, but the Lord Treasurer, *Burleigh*, and others received and kept the Seal for some little Time, without any particular Title. His Lordship’s Character is,
 ‘ That he was a Person of great
 ‘ Learning, singular Judgment,
 ‘ admirable Moderation, and
 ‘ comely Gravity, who became
 ‘ the chiefest Statesman of the
 ‘ Age wherein he lived; unto
 ‘ whose Prudence in Council
 ‘ much is attributed, for the
 ‘ Blessings enjoyed by that prosperous and happy Government, throughout the long
 ‘ Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* of
 ‘ happy Memory;” and from whom are descended the present Right Hon. *James Cecil*, Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Brownlow Cecil*, Earl of *Exeter*.

1596. May the 6th, it was delivered to Sir *Thomas Egerton*, Master of the Rolls, with the Title of Lord Keeper, till the Death of Queen *Eliza-*

beth: When King *James*, by Bill signed the 5th of *April*, 1603, appointed the Great Seal of *England* so to continue, until, on the 29th of *June* next following, the Seal being broken, the King delivered another Seal, with the Image, Arms, and Title of himself, to the said Sir *Thomas*; and on the 24th of *July* made Sir *Thomas* (then created Peer, by the Title of Lord *Ellesmere*,) Lord High Chancellor, who carried himself with much Caution and Prudence in this great Post, and made several good Regulations, for the Benefit of the Suitors, many of which are in use at this Day. During this Lord’s Chancellorship there were two Indictments for *Premunire* preferred against him in the *King’s Bench*, on Account of Decrees made by him in *Chancery* after Judgment in the *Common Law*; [See the Articles exhibited against Cardinal *Wolsey*.] the one by *Richard Granville*, and the other by *William Allen*, which were by the Grand Jury, consisting of very substantial Persons, returned *Ignoramus*, though they were

“ Matters being thus transacted, the same Lord the
 “ King caused the Great Seal aforesaid to be returned
 “ into the same white Bag, and to be sealed with his
 “ own sealing Ring on white Wax, and with the Seals
 “ of the said Masters *John Taylor* and *Stephen Gardi-*
 “ *ner*, which, when he saw done, his Majesty kept
 “ the Great Seal in his own Custody till *Monday* the
 “ 25th Day of the same Month of *October*; on which
 “ Day, about three in the Afternoon, the aforesaid
 “ Lord the King being at his Mannor of *Plaisance*,
 “ other-

N n 2

from CARDINAL WOLSEY's Time.

were twice sent out; and Sir *Francis Bacon*, in a Letter to King *James* the 1st, says, ‘ If they were set on that preferred them, they were the worst Marksmen that ever were that set them on, for there could not have been chosen two such Causes for the Honour and Advantage of the Chancery, for the Justness of the Decrees, and the Foulness and Scandal of the Fact and Person in those that impeached the Decrees.’ This Attack on the Chancery Sir *Francis* imputes principally to the Lord Chief Justice *Coke*. After this King *James*, upon a solemn Hearing, on the Objection against the High Court of Chancery's Interposing in Suits after Judgment in the *Common Law*, was pleased to give Judgment, *That the Statutes of 27 Edw. III. cap. 1. and of 4 Hen. IV. cap. 23. did not extend to the Court of Chancery*: And since that, the Decrees made by this Court, in order to restrain the Rigour of the Common Law after Judgment have not been questioned, but on the contrary much encouraged. From Lord *Ellesmere*

his Grace the present Duke of *Bridgewater* is descended.

March the 7th, it was 1616.
 given to Sir *Francis Bacon*, with the Title of Lord Keeper, who was soon after created Viscount *Verulam*, and, on the 14th of *Jan.* 1617, was made Lord High Chancellor. He was indeed allowed to be one of the greatest Men of the Age; his generous and affable Disposition procured him the Esteem and Admiration of all People: He instilled the wholesome Precept of Prudence and Honour into the Nobility; sound Principles, Arts, and Sciences, he communicated to the Learned; noble Maxims of Government to Princes, and excellent Rules of Life to the People: But notwithstanding this Character, this most learned Nobleman was, the 3d of *May*, 1621, removed for Corruption, &c. *Wilson* the Historian speaks thus of his Lordship; ‘ That he was a fit Jewel to have beautified and adorned a flourishing Kingdom, if his Flaws had not disgraced the Lustre that should have set him off.’ ‘ One Fault he had, says

“ otherwise *East Greenwich*, and in his inner Apart-
 “ ment near the Oratory, in the Prefence of the said
 “ *Henry Norris, Christopher Hales*, Attorney General
 “ of the said Lord the King, and others of the Privy
 “ Chamber of the said Lord the King, he gave and
 “ delivered his Great Seal, in the aforesaid Bag, sealed
 “ and repositied in the said Box, to his much beloved
 “ Counsellor, *Thomas More*, Knt. to be kept, exer-
 “ cised and occupied ; and then and there did con-
 “ stitute and appoint the said *Thomas More* his Chan-
 “ cellor

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says another Author, ‘ that he
 ‘ was above the Age he lived
 ‘ in ; he came to a Censure for
 ‘ the most simple and ridiculous
 ‘ Follies that ever entered into
 ‘ the Heart of a wise Man ; his
 ‘ Crimes were *Bribery* and *Cor-*
 ‘ *ruption*, for both which he had
 ‘ often condemned others as a
 ‘ Judge, and now comes to suf-
 ‘ fer as a Delinquent.’ He was
 so full of his own Conviction
 that he threw himself and Cause
 at his Judges Feet ; before he
 was condemned his Submissi-
 on and Supplication to the
 Lords has been reckoned a fine
 Piece of moving *Oratory* ; but it is
 too long to be here introduced.

And the Seal was for a short
 time delivered to three Commis-
 sioners, *Henry Viscount Mande-*
ville, Ld. President of the Coun-
 cil ; the Duke of *Richmond*, and
 Sir *Julius Cæsar*, Knt. Master
 of the Rolls.

1621. *July* the 10th, Dr.
John Williams, Bishop
 of *Lincoln*, received it with the
 Title of Lord Keeper, who held
 it till the Year 1625. Lord
Clarendon remarks, ‘ That, tho’

‘ a Man of great Wit, and good
 ‘ scholastick Learning, he was
 ‘ generally thought so very un-
 ‘ equal to the Place, that his Re-
 ‘ move was the only Recompence
 ‘ and Satisfaction that could be
 ‘ made for his Promotion.’

November the first, it 1625.
 was committed, with the
 Title of Lord Keeper, to Sir
Thomas Coventry, who was cre-
 ated a Peer. Lord *Clarendon*
 gives us this Account of that
 great Man, ‘ Sir *Thomas Coventry*
 ‘ was Lord Keeper of the Great
 ‘ Seal, and newly made a Baron.
 ‘ He was a Son of the Robe, his
 ‘ Father having been a Judge of
 ‘ the Court of *Common Pleas* ;
 ‘ who took Care to breed him,
 ‘ though his First-born, to the
 ‘ Study of the Common Law,
 ‘ by which he himself had been
 ‘ promoted to that Degree ; and
 ‘ in which, in the Society of the
 ‘ *Inner Temple*, his Son made a
 ‘ notable Progress, by an ear-
 ‘ ly Eminency in Practice and
 ‘ Learning ; insomuch that he was
 ‘ Recorder of *London*, Solicitor
 ‘ General, and King’s Attorney,
 ‘ before he was forty Years of
 ‘ Age ;

“ cellor of *England*, with all the Fiefs, Profits, Re-
 “ gards, Robes, Diets, Commodities and Advantages,
 “ due, belonging, or pertaining from antient Times
 “ to the said Office.

“ And the said *Thomas More* received the said Seal
 “ from the aforesaid Lord the King, in the Presence
 “ of the abovenamed, and on the next Day, *Tuesday*
 “ the 26th Day of the same Month of *October*, the
 “ aforesaid Lord Chancellor, being inducted about ten
 “ of the Clock in the Forenoon of the same Day, into
 “ the

from CARDINAL WOLSEY's Time.

‘ Age ; a rare Ascent ! All which
 ‘ Offices he discharged with great
 ‘ Abilities and singular Reputa-
 ‘ tion of Integrity. Lord *Co-*
 ‘ *ventry* discharged this Place
 ‘ with an universal Reputation,
 ‘ being a very wise and excellent
 ‘ Person, being generally esteemed
 ‘ throughout the Kingdom ; and
 ‘ sure, Justice was never better
 ‘ administred for about the Space
 ‘ of 16 Years, even to his Death,
 ‘ some Months before he was
 ‘ sixty Years of Age ; which
 ‘ was another important Cir-
 ‘ cumstance of his Felicity, that
 ‘ great Office being so slippery,
 ‘ that no Man had died in it
 ‘ before for the Space of forty
 ‘ Years.’ From this great Man
 the present Right Hon. *William*
 Earl of *Coventry* is descended.

1639. *January* the 23d, the
 Great Seal was delivered
 to Sir *Thomas Finch*, Knt. Lord
 Chief Justice of the *Common*
Pleas ; ‘ A Man, says Lord *Clar-*
 ‘ *endon*, exceedingly obnoxious
 ‘ to the People upon the Busi-
 ‘ ness of Ship-money, and not of
 ‘ Reputation and Authority e-
 ‘ nough to countenance and ad-

‘ vance the King's Service. Upon
 ‘ the Meeting of the Long Par-
 ‘ liament, in the Year 1540,
 ‘ finding he was likely to be
 ‘ accused of High Treason, he
 ‘ withdrew himself, and shortly
 ‘ after passed into *Holland*.’

Jan. the 23d it was de- 1640.
 livered to Sir *Edward Lit-*
leton, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of
 the *Common Pleas*, with the Title
 of Lord Keeper, who held it to his
 Death : But the fatal Civil Wars
 breaking out, the Parliament ap-
 pointed Commissioners thereof.

August the 30th, King 1645.
Charles the 1st committed
 the Seal to the Care of Sir *Rich-*
ard Lane, Knt. Chief Baron of
 the *Exchequer*, at *Oxford*, who
 held it till his Death ; and the
 Account we have of him is,
 ‘ That he followed the Royal
 ‘ Cause, and assisted in the De-
 ‘ fence at *Oxford*, when besieg-
 ‘ ed by the Parliament's Army,
 ‘ under the Command of the
 ‘ Earl of *Fairfax*’

King *Charles* the 2d, 1653.
 in his Exile, intrusted it
 with Sir *Edward Herbert*, it be-
 ing delivered to him by his Ma-
 jesty

“ the Place and Seat of the Court of Chancery in the
 “ Great Hall of the Palace of *Westminster*, by the
 “ most Serene Princes, *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, and
 “ *Charles Duke of Suffolk*, and a great many other
 “ Nobles and Chiefs of the Kingdom of *England*, at
 “ the Command of the Lord the King: And, after a
 “ noble Exhortation had on the Part of the Lord the
 “ King by the aforesaid Duke of *Norfolk*, as well to
 “ the said Lord *Chancellor* as to the People, and the
 “ Answer thereunto made by the said Lord Chan-
 “ cellor,

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justice at *Paris*. This Gentleman was a near Relation of the Lord *Herbert of Cherbury*, (who wrote the Life of K. *Henry the VIIIth*.) which Title, though it had been some Years extinct, is now revived in the Person of the Right Hon. *Henry-Arthur Herbert, Esq*; who was lately created Lord *Herbert*; and is a worthy Descendant of this antient Family.

1657. *January* the 13th, the King delivered the Great Seal to Sir *Edward Hyde, Knt.* Chancellor of the *Exchequer* to his Royal Father, who was honoured with the Title of Lord Chancellor of *England*, at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, the 24th of *Jan.* following, (and created Earl of *Clarendon*) who held it after the *Restoration* till the Year 1667; during whose Time the Court of *Wards, &c.* was suppressed by Act of Parliament, which brought a great deal of Business into this Court: But the Torrent of the Times run high against the Earl; for he was banished by Act of Parliament, and died in Exile. By the Command of K. *Charles the IIId*, he wrote that excellent

Work, called, *The History of the Rebellion*. Bishop *Burnet*, in his Character of this great Man, says,
 ‘ He was like to grow eminent
 ‘ in the Profession of the Law
 ‘ when the Civil Wars begun,
 ‘ about which Time he went to
 ‘ his aged Father in *Wiltshire*;
 ‘ who, one Day as they were
 ‘ walking together, told him,
 ‘ That Men of his Profession did
 ‘ often stretch Law and Preroga-
 ‘ tive, to the Prejudice of the Li-
 ‘ berty of the Subject, to recommend
 ‘ and advance themselves; so
 ‘ charged him, That he should
 ‘ never sacrifice the Laws and
 ‘ Liberties of his Country to his
 ‘ own Interests, or to the Will of
 ‘ his Prince.’ He repeated this
 twice, and immediately fell in-
 to a Fit of the Apoplexy, of
 which he died in a few Hours.
 His Lordship was a good Chancel-
 lor, and very impartial in the Ad-
 ministration of Justice. He would
 never make a Visit to the King’s
 Mistress, nor suffer any thing to
 pass the Seal in which she was
 mentioned, and very often pre-
 vailed on the King to alter the
 Resolutions he had taken in the
 Cabal

“ cellor, he took his corporal Oath on the *Holy*
“ *Evangelists*.

“ And then and there, in the Presence of the afore-
“ said Dukes, and likewise of *Thomas Marquis of Dor-*
“ *set*, *Henry Marquis of Exeter*, *John Earl of Oxford*,
“ *Henry Earl of Northumberland*, *George Earl of Shrop-*
“ *shire*, *Galfrid Earl of Westmoreland*, *John Bishop of*
“ *Lincoln*, *Cuthbert Bishop of London*, *John Bishop*
“ *of Bath and Wells*, *Robert Ratcliff*, Knt. Viscount
“ *Fitz-Walter* ; *Thomas Boleyn*, Knt. Viscount *Rock-*
“ *ford* ;

from CARDINAL WOLSEY's Time.

Cabal that had met at her Lodgings. This virtuous Minister thought it became him, that the World should see, he did not always comply with the King in his Views. As many who had suffered in the King's Cause were disappointed, in not having Places, they blamed the Earl, because they were given to those who were looked upon as not the King's Friends ; to this the Earl said, *Promises brought the King Home, and it was keeping them must keep him at Home*. It was also given out, *That he advised the King to gain his Enemies, since he was sure of his Friends* : But Bishop Burnet says,
‘ The Earl always denied it :
‘ But it was doubtful, after the
‘ King had disgraced him, whe-
‘ ther he did not fasten it on
‘ him, to make him more o-
‘ dious ; for he said many hard
‘ Things of him, for which he
‘ was much blamed in most of
‘ them, but little believed.’
Those who composed the Preface to his Lordship's History of the *Grand Rebellion*, among several other Matters, says this of him :

‘ Whatever Misfortunes he might
‘ have in his Life, whatever E-
‘ nemies he might have had, or
‘ whatever Errors he might have
‘ committed (which few Men in
‘ his high Station escape quite
‘ clear of) we presume to think,
‘ he deserves from all impartial
‘ Men, the Praise of an honest,
‘ just, and able Servant to the
‘ Church and Crown, and to be
‘ ranked amongst the great and
‘ good Ministers of State.’ From
this noble Lord the present Right
Hon. *Henry Earl of Clarendon* and
Rocheſter is descended.

August the 13th, Sir 1667.
Orlando Bridgeman, Knt.
Lord Chief Justice of the *Com-*
mon Pleas, received it with the
Title of Lord Keeper. But, ac-
cording to a learned Prelate, ‘ His
‘ Study and Practice lay so en-
‘ tirely in the Common Law,
‘ that he never seemed to ap-
‘ prehend what Equity was: Nor
‘ had he a Head more for Busi-
‘ ness than for such a Court. He
‘ was a Man of great Integrity ;
‘ he had very serious Impres-
‘ sions of Religion on his Mind ;
‘ he had been always on the
‘ Side

“ *ford*; *William Sandys*, Knt. Lord of *Sandys*; and
 “ of many others of the Lord the King’s Council,
 “ the said Lord Chancellor had the said Seal, kept
 “ in the aforefaid Box, under the Seals of the Lord the
 “ King, Master *John Taylor* and *Stephen Gardiner*,
 “ as aforefaid, taken out, and feveral Briefs of Course
 “ figned; and afterwards returned the Seal aforefaid
 “ into the faid Bag, which he had fealed with his
 “ own proper Signet, and retained it in his own
 “ Custody.”

Be-

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Side of the Church, yet he had
 great Tenderness for the Non-
 conformists.— See Bp. Burnet’s
Hist. of his own Times. Vol. I.

1672. Nov. the 17th, the fa-

mous Earl of *Shaftsbury*
 received it, with the Title of
 Lord Chancellor. Several Au-
 thors say, that he was a good
 Chancellor, and his Abilities no
 Man yet called in Question. The
 Speech he made to Mr. Serjeant
Thurland, when he was made Ba-
 ron of the *Exchequer*, fully shews
 how much he had the Tranquillity
 of the People at Heart. *Rawleigh*
Redivivus says of him, ‘ And
 ‘ with what Prudence, Candour,
 ‘ Honour, and Integrity he ac-
 ‘ quitted himself in that great
 ‘ and weighty Employment, the
 ‘ Transactions of the Court of
 ‘ Chancery, during the Time of
 ‘ his Chancellorship, will best te-
 ‘ stify. Justice then run in an
 ‘ equal Channel; so that the
 ‘ Cause of the Rich was not suf-
 ‘ fered to swallow up the Right
 ‘ of the Poor; nor was the strong
 ‘ or cunning Opposition permitted
 ‘ to devour the weak or unskil-

ful Opposer; but the Abused
 found Relief fuitable to their
 Distress, and those by whom
 they were abused a severe Re-
 prehension to their Crimes.
 The mischievous Consequences,
 which commonly arise from
 the Delays and other Practices
 of that Court, were, by inge-
 nuous and judicious Manage-
 ment, very much abated, and
 every Thing weighed and de-
 termined with exact Judgment
 and Equity.’ During the Time
 of his Chancellorship he main-
 tained all Things fuitable to the
 Greatness of his Place. The Man-
 ner of his Proceeding on the first
 Day of each Term to *Westminster*
 was agreeable to the antient and
 laudable Custom, all the Officers
 of the Court, the Judges, Mr. At-
 torney and Solicitor General, &c.
 going before him according to
 their several Degrees, which is still
 followed. From this great Man
 the present Right. Hon. *Anthony*
Earl of Shaftsbury is descended.

Nov. the 9th, Sir *He- 1673.*
neage Pinch, Knt. receiv-
 ed the Seal with the Title of
 Lord

Before the Cardinal left his Palace he gave his Servants a strict Charge of all the Jewels, Plate, and other Things of Value, which his Master was now to have.

The Cardinal ordered to retire to Esther.

At this Time Sir *William Gascoigne*, his Treasurer, relates to him the Rumour that was Abroad, concerning his Commitment to the *Tower*. The Relation of this Report he not only took unkindly, but reprimanded Sir *William* severely for his Credulity, saying, *As my Honour, Riches, &c. I received from the King ;*

from CARDINAL WOLSEY's Time.

Lord Keeper, who was some time after created Earl of *Nottingham*, and made Lord High Chancellor. During all the Time he presided in this Court he made a very great Figure, and died possessed of this high Office ; of whom this is related, ' He behaved in the most ticklish Times with so regular and even a Conduct, that he was scarce ever taxed, either as a Statesman or Chancellor, with Partiality, and was so excellent and eloquent an Orator, that some have stiled him the *English Cicero*, &c.' Part of the Inscription on his Monument tells us, ' He was a Person of extraordinary natural Endowments, and for manly and unaffected Eloquence, universal Learning, incorrupted Justice, indefatigable Diligence, most exemplary Pie-

ty, large and diffusive Charity, not unequal to any that have gone before him, and an eminent Example to Posterity ; in whom were all the Virtues that make a great and good Man conspicuous, without the Blemish of any Vice.' Then it enumerates the Posts he had held, and concludes thus: ' Nine Years he served the King in the Station of Chancellor with great Wisdom, Honour, Uprightness, and Ability, treating all Men with Meekness and Affability, and always most ready and willing to forgive Injuries, even when he had most Power to revenge them, valuing Greatness as only ministering to him a greater Opportunity of doing good.' Add to this, from Mr. Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*.

*Our Lists of Nobles next let AMRI * Grace,
Whose Merit claims the Abethdin's High Place ;
Who, with a Loyalty that did excel,
Brought all the Endowments of Achitophel.
Sincere was AMRI, and not only knew,
But Israel's Sanction into Practice drew.*

King; so, if it is his Pleasure, I freely return them. He then took Boat at the private Stairs of his Palace, having with him most of his Servants, with some Furniture and Provisions, and directed his Course towards *Putney*. Upon this Occasion the *Thames* was crouded with Spectators on both Sides, and a vast Number of Boats appeared on the River in hopes of seeing the Cardinal carried to the *Tower*, and it is almost incredible what Joy the common People expressed. “ The giddy Mob, says
“ the

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*Our Laws, that did a boundless Ocean seem,
Were coasted all, and fathom'd all by him.
No Rabin speaks like him their mystick Sense
So just, and with such Charms of Eloquence;
To whom the double Blessing does belong,
With MOSES' Inspiration, AARON's Tongue.*

From this great Man the present Right Hon. *Daniel*, Earl of *Winchelsea* and *Nottingham*, is descended.

1682. Dec. the 13th, the King was pleased to put the Seal into the Hands of Sir *Francis North*, Knt. with the Title of Lord Keeper, and soon after he was created Baron *Guilford*, and held the Seal till his Death, Sept. 26, 1683 — ‘ He was
‘ a singular great and good Man,
‘ ever active in the Service of his
‘ Country, in which his Conduct
‘ and Behaviour were not to be
‘ blamed, and his Character in general without Exception; notwithstanding some, either thro’
‘ Ignorance or Party Rage, might
‘ think otherwise. In a Word,
‘ he was the best of Brothers, and
‘ the best of Friends.’ (See *Dedication to his Life*, lately published by *Montague North*, Esq;) From

this great Man is descended the present Right Hon. *Francis North* Lord *Guilford*, &c.

Octob. the 28th, King 1685. *James* the II^d committed the Custody thereof to that very extraordinary Nobleman *George* Lord *Jeffrey's*, (whose History is very well known) who held it to the Time of the *Revolution*, when he was committed to the *Tower*, where he soon after died. However, this is said of him, ‘ That
‘ he had a very piercing Eye, was
‘ a good Chancellor, and few
‘ or none of his Decrees were
‘ reversed.’

And then Sir *John Maynard*, *Anth. Kecke*, Esq; and 1688. Mr. Serjeant *Rawlinson* were appointed Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal; and, as they were the first Commissioners that exercised any Acts of Judicature, as Lords Commissioners in the Chancery,
(ex-

“ the Writer of the *Church History*, being always
 “ well pleased when they see Authority under Op-
 “ pression : For, let Ministers be never so just, in
 “ the Administration of publick Affairs, there is
 “ constantly a Party labouring under Disappointments,
 “ who make it their Business to influence the Com-
 “ mon People against the Power that governs.”

The Cardinal, being landed at *Putney*, immediately mounted his Mule, his Servants and Attendants being on Horseback ; but he was scarce got to the Foot of the

from CARDINAL WOLSEY's Time.

(except those who transacted in the Time of the *Usurpation*) a Doubt arose, *Whether their Authority extended, in their judicial Capacity, as far as that of the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper ?* To fix this Point an Act passed, 1 *Will. and Mary*, wherein it was declared, ‘ That the Lords Commissioners, for the keeping of the Great Seal, should execute their Office with the same Authority as the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper.’ So that by this, and the Act passed in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, before mentioned, those three Offices, which were looked upon by some not to have equal Authority, in respect to the exercising the judicial Power in Chancery, were settled and explained.

Sir *John Maynard* was a Gentleman of so great Knowledge in the Laws, that he was esteemed as one of the chief Directors of the long Robe. By his great Practice, for many Years together, he acquired a very plentiful Estate, and, being a Member of the Convention Parliament in 1688, he was a great Promoter of the *Revolution*, and

was the Gentleman, when a proper Word was wanting to express the Vacancy of the Throne; who thought of *Abdication*, which was afterwards made use of.

In June Sir *John Trevor*; Sir *William Russell*, 1690.
linson, and Sir *George Hutchings*, Knts. were appointed Lords Commissioners.

Bishop *Burnet* says, ‘ That Sir *John Trevor* was Speaker of the House of Commons, a bold and dextrous Man, and knew the most effectual Ways of recommending himself to every Government. He had been in great Favour in King *James's* Time, and was made Master of the Rolls by him; and, if Lord *Jeffreys* had stuck at any thing, he was looked on as the Man likeliest to have had the Great Seal. He now got himself to be chosen Speaker, and was made first Commissioner of the Great Seal. Being a *Tory* in Principle, he undertook to manage that Party, provided he was furnished with such Sums of Money as might purchase
 O o 2 some

the Hill, on the other Side *Putney*, when he was overtaken by Sir *John Norris*, one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bed-chamber, who dismounted his Horse, saluted his Eminence in his Majesty's Name, and addressed himself upon his Knees as follows, "That he was sent Express to assure him, that he was as much in the King's Favour as ever: That this Disgrace was only to serve a Turn, and please some sort of People; bidding him be of good Courage,

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some Votes: And by him began the Practice of *buying of Men*, in which hitherto the King had kept to stricter Rules. I took the Liberty once to complain to the King of this Method.—He said, *He hated it as much as any Man could do: But he saw it was not possible, considering the Corruption of the Age, to avoid it, unless he would endanger the whole.*" However, such was the Fate that attended Sir *John*, that he was expelled the House for *Corruption*, tho' he continued Master of the Rolls till his Death. These Commissioners held the Seal until

1693. *March*, when it was committed to the Care of the great Sir *John Somers*, Knt. with the Title of Lord Keeper, who was afterwards created Lord *Somers*, and declared Lord Chancellor; of whom the very ingenious Mr. *Addison*, in a Paper called the *Freeholders*, gives us this Character. "That unwearied Diligence, which followed him through all the Stages of his Life, gave him such a thorough Insight into the Laws of the Land, that he passed for one

of the greatest Masters of his Profession, at his first Appearance in it. Though he made a regular Progress through the several Honours of the Long Robe, he was always looked upon as one who deserved a superior Station to that he was possessed of, till he arrived at the highest Dignity to which those Studies could advance him. He enjoyed, in the highest Perfection, two Talents, which do not often meet in the same Person, the greatest Strength of good Sense, and the most exquisite Taste of Politeness; without the first Learning is but an Incumbrance, and without the last is ungrateful. My Lord *Somers* was Master of these two Qualifications in so eminent a Degree, that all the Parts of Knowledge appeared in him with such an additional Strength and Beauty, as they want in the Possession of others. If he delivered his Opinion of a Piece of Poetry, a Statue, or a Picture, there was something so just and delicate in his Observations, as naturally

“rage, for, as his Majesty was able, so he was willing, to make good all his Losses.” The Cardinal, being surprized at this joyful News, directly got off his Mule, and, falling also upon his Knees in the Highway, gave Thanks first to God, and next to the King, in Words that were scarce to be expressed in the Manner they were uttered; then, taking off his Hat, made fresh Protestations of Gratitude to his Sovereign: After which, both arising, they mounted and rode towards *Essex*. As they conversed

from CARDINAL WOLSEY's Time.

‘produced Pleasure and Assent
‘in those who heard him. His
‘Solidity and Elegance, improved by the Reading of the
‘finest Authors, both of the
‘learned and modern Languages, discovered themselves
‘in all his Productions. His Oratory was masculine and persuasive, free from every thing
‘trivial and affected: His Style
‘in Writing was chaste and pure,
‘but at the same time full of
‘Spirit and Politeness, and fit
‘to convey the most intricate
‘Business to the Understanding
‘of the Reader, with the utmost
‘Clearness and Perspicuity. And
‘here it is to be lamented, that
‘this extraordinary Person, out
‘of his natural Aversion to vain
‘Glory, wrote several Pieces,
‘as well as performed several
‘Actions, which he did not assume the Honour of; though
‘at the same time so many
‘Works of this Nature have
‘appeared, which every one has
‘ascribed to him, that I believe no Author of the greatest
‘Eminence would deny my
‘Lord *Somers* to have been the

‘best Writer of the Age in which
‘he lived. This noble Lord,
‘for the great Extent of his
‘Knowledge and Capacity, has
‘been often compared with the
‘Lord *Verulam*, who had also
‘been Chancellor of *England*.
‘But the Conduct of these two
‘extraordinary Persons, under
‘the same Circumstances, was
‘vastly different. They were
‘both impeached by a House
‘of Commons: One of them,
‘as he had given just Occasion
‘for it, sunk under it, and was
‘reduced to such an abject Submission, as very much diminished the Lustre of so exalted
‘a Character. But my Lord
‘*Somers* was too well satisfied
‘in his Integrity, to fear the
‘Impotence of an Attempt upon his Reputation; and, tho’
‘his Accusers would gladly have
‘dropped their Impeachment,
‘he was instant with them for
‘the Prosecution of it, and
‘would not let that Matter rest
‘till it was brought to an Issue:
‘For the same Virtue and
‘Greatness of Mind, which
‘gave him a Disregard of *Fame*,
‘made

versed on the Way, Mr. *Norris* pulled out a Gold Ring set with a very rich Stone, which he presented to the Cardinal in the King's Name, in Token of his recovered Friendship. This *Wolfey* might easily take as a strong Confirmation that the King's Displeasure was not real, but only assumed; for he well knew the Ring, it being one of those Tokens usually sent him, when his Majesty desired any thing should be done

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made him impatient of an undeserved Reproach."

1700. This Year Sir *Nathan Wright* was appointed Lord Keeper. Bishop *Burnet* says, 'It was Term-time (when Lord *Somers* was removed) so a Vacancy in that Post putting Things in some Confusion, a temporary Commission was granted to the three Chief Judges, to judge in the Court of *Chancery*; and after a few Days the Seals were given to Sir *Nathan Wright*, in whom there was nothing equal to the Post, much less to him who had lately filled it. — *Wright* was a Zealot to his Party, [*Tories*] and was become very exceptionable in all respects. Money, as was said, did every thing with him; only in this Court, I never heard him charged for any thing but great Slowness, by which the *Chancery* was become one of the heaviest Grievances of the Nation.'

In 1705 *Wright* was dismissed from his Post of Lord Keeper. Upon this the Bishop concludes his Account of him thus. —

'*Wright* was fallen under a high Degree of Contempt with all Sides; even the *Tories*, though he was wholly theirs, despising him: He was sordidly covetous, and did not at all live suitable to that high Post.' — We cannot help saying, we think the Bishop has been full free with Sir *Nathan's* Character.

The latter End of Oct. 1705. *William Cowper*, Esq; succeeded him; who, the Beginning of May, 1707, was created a Peer, and declared the first Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain* upon the Union of the two Kingdoms.

Oct. the 19th, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Knt. was 1711. constituted Lord Keeper; and some Months after was made Chancellor, and created a Peer by the Title of Lord *Harcourt*.

The Character given of him by the late Queen, in the Introduction to the Patent for creating him a Peer, is this, 'There is nothing in which we more willingly exercise that Royal Authority, which God has entrusted us with, than by rewarding

done with singular Care and Expedition. The Cardinal therefore, as he was considering what Return he should make Sir *John*, the Messenger of so much good News, excused himself upon Account of his present Condition; but, taking a Gold Cross from about his Neck, in which a Piece of the Holy Cross (as it was said) was inclosed, he bestowed it on him as a perpetual Remembrance of his Service. Then, bethink-

from CARDINAL WOLSEY's Time.

warding true Merit and Virtue, and advancing to all suitable Dignity Men who have merited well of us, and whose Ancestors have been remarkably famous in their Generation: Among those, none is more conspicuous than our well-beloved and very faithful Counsellor, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Knt. Keeper of our Great Seal; a Gentleman recommended to us by a long Descent of Progenitors of very ample Fortunes, and renowned for their warlike Actions ever since the *Norman* Times; one of whom, for his Bravery signalized under the Standard of *Edward* the IVth, was made Knight of the Garter: Another, fighting courageously against the *Irish* Rebels, in the Cause of his royal Master, King *Charles* the Ist, the best of Princes, was the first *Englishman* that fell a Sacrifice to their Fury. Nor is there one of all that Race, descended from such noble Ancestors, who has not been eminent for his Love to his Country, and Loyalty to his Prince. He suffered, indeed, in his paternal Inheritance, which was diminished by the Fury of the Civil Wars, but not in his Glory, which, being acquired by military Valour, he, as a Lawyer, has advanced by the Force of his Wit and Eloquence: For we have understood, that his Faculty in Speaking is so full of Variety, that many doubt whether he is fitter to manage Causes in the lower Court, or to speak before a full Parliament; but it is unanimously confessed by all, That among the Lawyers he is the most eloquent Orator, and among the Orators the most able Lawyer. To this Praise of his Eloquence he has added those domestick Virtues, Magnanimity and Fidelity, supported by which he has resolutely persevered in maintaining the Cause he had undertaken, and in despising Danger; and has kept the Engagement of Friendship, whether in Prosperity or Adversity, sacred and inviolable. Whom therefore, furnished with such great Endowments of Mind, and all Clients having wished for to defend their Causes, not without Reason, We preferred to be one of our

bethinking himself of what would be acceptable to the King, he sent him his Fool, *Patch*, whom six of his tallest Yeomen were scarce able to conduct, so great a Reluctance he had to part with his old Master; but with this Present the King appeared very much pleased. We

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‘ our Counsel at Law, whom
 ‘ we a second time called to be
 ‘ our Attorney General, which
 ‘ Office he had once before sus-
 ‘ tained with Honour, as far as
 ‘ it was thought convenient;
 ‘ whom lastly, since we perceiv-
 ‘ ed all those Things were in-
 ‘ ferior to the Largeness of his
 ‘ Capacity, we have advanced
 ‘ to the highest Pitch of *Foren-*
 ‘ *sical* Dignity, and made him
 ‘ supreme Judge in our Court of
 ‘ Equity, where he still conti-
 ‘ nues to deserve higher of us,
 ‘ and of all good Men; and is
 ‘ so much a brighter Ornament
 ‘ to his Province, as it is more
 ‘ honourable than the rest he has
 ‘ gone through. He daily dis-
 ‘ patches the Multitude of Suits
 ‘ in *Chancery*, he removes the
 ‘ Obstacles which delay Judg-
 ‘ ment in that Court, and takes
 ‘ special Care that the successful
 ‘ Issue of an honest Cause should
 ‘ cost every Plaintiff as little as
 ‘ may be; which Things, as
 ‘ they are very grateful to us,
 ‘ honourable to himself, and
 ‘ beneficial to the Common-
 ‘ wealth, we think deserving of
 ‘ higher Reward. Therefore,
 ‘ &c.’ But, upon the Accession
 of King *George* the Ist, his Lord-
 ship was removed from his high
 Station.—See some Account of his
 Lordship’s Family, Vol. II. p. 283.

Whereupon the Lord
Cowper was a second time 1741.
 appointed Lord High Chancellor,
 (and was the only Chancellor that
 held the Seal twice) who was
 created Earl *Cowper*.

This is his Character from Mr.
Collins. ‘ In all his Stations he act-
 ‘ ed with strict Integrity; and it
 ‘ is to his great Honour that he
 ‘ refused the *New-years-gifts*,
 ‘ (which former Lord *Chancel-*
 ‘ *lors* received from the *Council*)
 ‘ thinking it an ill *Precedent*,
 ‘ tending to Corruption. He
 ‘ had a graceful Person and win-
 ‘ ning Aspect; and all his
 ‘ Speeches were delivered with
 ‘ that Eloquence, learning and
 ‘ Judgment, as made him uni-
 ‘ versally applauded, and shewed
 ‘ he had no Superior in the Know-
 ‘ ledge of the Law, or any other
 ‘ Subject he applied himself to.’

His Lordship died in *Hert-*
fordshire, on the 13th of Oct.
 1723, was succeeded by his
 eldest Son *William*, now Earl
Cowper, who married on the
 27th of June, 1732, the Lady
Henrietta, youngest Daughter of
 the Right Hon. *Henry* the pre-
 sent Earl of *Grantham*, by whom
 he hath Issue one Son and a
 Daughter.

May the 12th, the Lord
Parker was declared Lord 1718.
 Chancellor, and was soon after
 created

We see no great Matter in Dr. *Fiddes's* *Some Reflections thereon.* long supposititious Disquisition on the Cardinal's kneeling in the Dirt, &c. (See p. 472, in his *Life of the Cardinal*) no more than in Mr. *Salmon's* Observations on the Doctor, in his *History of Henry the VIIIth.* Though we cannot suppose he was really in

from CARDINAL WOLSEY's Time.

created Earl of *Macclesfield*; being allowed by all a Nobleman of great Abilities. Whilst his Lordship presided in this Court it was discovered that much of the Suitors Money was misapplied, in so much that some of the Officers, as it afterwards appeared, were unable to make good the Sums committed to their Trust by the Court; *though often brought there, not by the Choice of the Parties concerned, but by the Compulsion of the Court, under the Pretext of better Security.* † This drew on an Inquiry first before the King and Council, next in the Honourable House of Commons, which produced an Impeachment against the noble Earl; and, to encourage such of the *Masters in Chancery*, who had purchased ‡ their Offices, to make a Discovery touching what they had paid for the same, an Act passed to indemnify them from the Forfeitures incurred by the Statute made in *Edward the VIth's* Time. In short, the Earl was tried at the Bar of the House of Lords, upon the Impeachment, found guilty,

and fined 30,000 *l.* which he paid; and the Money, by his late Majesty *K. George the Ist's* Direction, was applied towards making good the Deficiency occasioned by the Officers Insolvency. However, we cannot omit here to give Mr. *Collins's* Character of his Lordship; 'The Earl, as a Husband, a Parent, and a Master, ' was truly beloved by every one ' who stood in those Relations towards him. His Speeches on ' publick Affairs, and in his judicial Capacity, shewed both ' his Learning and Eloquence, ' and he favoured all Designs tending to the Advancement of Learning. No Man served his Friends ' more readily, and chearfully; ' and they found in him a most agreeable, innocent, and instructive Companion. He was ' a sincere and faithful Member of the Church of *England*, constantly frequenting its Assemblies, and joining in all its Offices with a just Sense of Religion, and an exemplary Piety. ' To those Supports it was owing, ' that, when he apprehended the ' Ap-

† See the Speech of the Right Hon. *Arthur Onslow*, Esq; on the Trial of the Earl of *Macclesfield*.

‡ See the said Trial.

in the Dirt, or on his Knees, scarce two Minutes, what a Pother have Bishop *Burnet*, *Rapin*, and others, made about it, and at last settled nothing. And suppose

MEMOIRS of the LORD CHANCELLORS, &c.

‘ Approach of Death, he prepared himself for it with as much Calmness and Composure as for a Journey : And, having received the holy Communion, in the Company of his Relations, Friends, and Servants, he took his last Farewell of them serious and unmoved ; setting them a Pattern of dying, as he had always done of living, like a true *Christian*.’ Upon his Lordship’s Death he was succeeded in Honour and Estate by his Son the present Right Hon. *George Earl of Macclesfield*.

1725. Upon the E. of *Macclesfield*’s resigning the Great Seal it was, in *Jan.* committed to the Care of Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, Mr. Justice *Raymond*, and Mr. Baron *Gilbert*, with the Title of Lords Commissioners. Their Lordships, as was consistent to the great Trust, immediately set about reforming the Abuses that had crept into this Court, and the Masters in Chancery cheerfully assisted their Lordships in this useful Work, and readily obeyed such Orders as were thought requisite for the better securing the Suitors Money and Effects, particularly one, bearing Date the 26th of *May*, 1725, whereby their Lordships ordered, ‘ That all the Moneys, Securities, &c. belonging to the Suitors of the Court, in the Hands of the Masters, should be carried into the Bank ; and that the Ma-

sters should forthwith pass and settle their Accounts.’ Whereby it soon appeared, if some further Provision was not made, for the Relief of the Suitors, besides the 30,000*l.* paid by the Earl of *Macclesfield*, many of them would be greatly reduced, who were Widows and Orphans, and in some Cases their All depending ; which might bring the Dignity of the Court into Disesteem, if not a Reproach on the Constitution. This put the Parliament upon taking the Matter into their serious Consideration, which had this Issue, an Act passed, 12 *George I* entitled, *An Act for the Relief of the Suitors of the Court of Chancery*.

June the 21st, the Great Seal was committed 1725. to Lord Chief Justice *King*, with the Title of Lord Chancellor ; who, on the 4th of *Nov.* made an Order greatly for the Benefit of the Suitors of the Court, and soon afterwards an Act passed, 12 *Geo. I.* entitled, *An Act for the better securing the Moneys and Effects of the Suitors of the Court of Chancery* ; wherein the Order made by his Lordship was *verbatim* set forth and confirmed.

The Provisions which the Parliament made for the Relief of the unhappy Suitors were such as intirely answered the End proposed, and gave universal Content to the Nation in general ; and for their further Ease an Act lately

pose it were determinable, which we do not see it is, whether he was religiously respectful to the King as the Lord's Anointed, or fond of being again carried

from CARDINAL WOLSEY's Time.

lately passed, to exempt the Suitors from paying the Accomptant General Fees on his Reports, for bringing their Moneys, &c. into the Bank, or receiving them therefrom, pursuant to such Orders as the Court should make from time to time.

During the Time his Lordship presided in this Court a Dispute arose, *Whether the Master of the Rolls had a Judicial Authority to hear Causes in the Absence of the Lord Chancellor, without a Commission?* — This Matter was introduced to the Publick in a Book printed in Trinity Term, 1726, under the Title of *The History of the Chancery*, wherein the Author asserts, 'That his Honour could not hear Causes in Court without a Delagation from the Chancellor, unless by Commission. An Answer to this was published, entitled, *A Discourse of the Judicial Authority belonging to the Office of the Master of the Rolls*; wherein the Author affirms, 'That the Master of the Rolls could hear Causes, and make Orders in Chancery, by Virtue of his Office, without any special Commission.' And, in Support of his Argument, sets forth many Cases. This produced another Piece by way of Reply, said to be wrote by one of the Masters of the Court, entitled, *The Legal Judicature in Chancery stated*; and herein the Gentleman, among other Mat-

ters, endeavours to prove, 'That the Master of the Rolls was no Judge, either in Law or Equity; but what Judicial Power he could lawfully exercise was by being one of the XII Masters of Chancery, or by Virtue of the King's Commission.'

— The Controversy being drawn to this Length, in order to prevent any Inconvenience to the Publick, an Act passed, 3 George II. entitled, *An Act to put an end to certain Disputes, touching Orders and Decrees made in the Court of Chancery*, in which was recited, 'That whereas divers Questions and Disputes had arisen, touching the Authority of the Master of the Rolls in the High Court of Chancery, for putting an end to all Disputes concerning the same, it was enacted, That all Orders and Decrees made by the then present Master of the Rolls, or any of his Predecessors, or any thereafter to be made by the said Master of the Rolls, or any of his Successors, (except such Orders and Decrees as should be made only by the Lord Chancellor, &c.) shall be deemed and taken to be valid Orders by the said Court, subject nevertheless to be discharged, revoked, or altered by the Lord Chancellor, &c. And that no such Order or Decree should be inrolled, till the same be first signed by the Lord Chancellor, &c.'

ressed by his ungrateful Master, or rejoiced with the Thoughts of his Troubles being at an End, what great Personage is there that may not easily drop into the

MEMOIRS of the LORD CHANCELLORS, &c.

Lord King held the Seal until the Year 1733, and died the 22d of July, 1734. The Inscription on the Monument erected to his Memory relates these further Particulars of his Lordship.

*He was born in the City of Exeter of worthy and substantial Parents:
But with a Genius greatly superior to his Birth.*

*By his Industry, Prudence, Learning, and Virtue,
He raised himself to the highest Character and Reputation,
And to the highest Posts and Dignities.*

*He applied himself to his Studies in the Inner TEMPLE;
And, to an exact and compleat Knowledge in all the Parts and History
Of the Law,*

Added the most extensive Learning, Theological and Civil.

He was chosen a Member of the House of Commons in the Year 1699;

Recorder of the City of London, in the Year 1708;

Made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1714;

On the Accession of King GEORGE I.

Created Lord KING, Baron of OCKHAM;

*And raised to the Post and Dignity of Lord High Chancellor of
GREAT BRITAIN, 1725.*

*Under the Labour and Fatigues of which weighty Place,
Sinking under a paralytick Disease, he resigned it, Nov. 29th, 1733.
And died, July 22, 1734, Aged 65.*

A FRIEND TO TRUE RELIGION AND LIBERTY.

He was succeeded in his Honour and Estate by the present Right Hon. John Lord King, his eldest Son.

Nov. the 29th, the Seal 1733. was delivered to the great Ld. Talbot, with the Title of Lord Chancellor. During his Time two different Pieces, besides those we have mentioned, were published, relating to the Original of this Court; the one in the Year 1735, entitled, *An Historical Essay of the Jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, with some Incidents of the o-*

ther Courts; the other, The Jurisdiction of the Chancery, as a Court of Equity, researched. The last Author, after he has spoke of the Original of the Court, and the Acts of Parliament, as he thinks, that established it, says, 'It may be assured and concluded, that the Root and Original Authority of the Chancery, as a Court of Equity, is not occult; nor, like the Head of the Nile, undiscoverable; nor is founded on any antient Prescription Time out of Mind used; nor upon any

the like Extasy on experiencing such a Turn of Fortune as he had done. Why may not the Reader judge for himself after the Facts are fairly related, without so much Preaching about them? But,

from CARDINAL WOLSEY's Time.

‘ any unwritten Law or Custom,
‘ but on Acts of Parliament.’

Lord *Talbot* held the Great Seal to his Death, whose Character we cannot better sum up than in Mr. *Collins's* Words, in his *British Peerage*: ‘ In his
‘ judicial Capacity he shewed his
‘ great Learning and Knowledge
‘ of the Law, with an unbiaſſed
‘ Integrity; and none in his Sta-
‘ tion was ever more esteemed
‘ whilst living, or died more uni-
‘ versally lamented. He behaved
‘ with the greatest Honour in
‘ every Act of Life, being Ma-
‘ ſter of all those Virtues that
‘ make a great and good Man
‘ conspicuous.’ His Lordship's Dignity and Estate descended to the Right Hon. *William Talbot*, his second Son.

1736. Upon the 21st of Feb. his Lordship was ſucceeded by the present Right Hon. *Philip Lord Hardwicke*, with the like Title of *Lord High Chancellor*, who has particularly distinguished himself in supporting the *Liberty of the Press*, by protecting the legal Right to Copies. A recent Instance we have of his Lordship's (together with the Advice and Assistance of the Right Honourable *William Fortescue*, Esq;

Master of the Rolls, and the rest of the Hon. Commissioners appointed for that Purpose) well governing the Court of *Chancery*, and their tender Regard to the Rights of the Suitors thereof, by the printed Orders and Tables of Fees, throughout the respective Offices, published in *January 1743*.

To conclude, it is evident, that Cardinal *Wolsey's* Conduct and Behaviour in the high Office of Lord Chancellor, were the Cause of greatly raising the Reputation of the *Chancery*; and that by the Legislature's interposing, and the good Orders and Regulations made of late Years in the Proceedings of this Court, for the Ease of the Suitors, are such, that the Properties lodged therein were never so well secured and taken care of since Cardinal *Wolsey's* Time: And the whole Nation cannot but acknowledge, that we are much indebted to the late and present Chancellor for several of the Benefits now enjoyed, whose great Abilities and faithful Discharge of this important Trust, as Keepers of the King's Conscience, will be the Means, we make no doubt, of transferring their Names to Posterity with the highest Regard.



Here

*Arrives at
Esher.*

But, after all these great Promises from the King, it appears that his Majesty meant nothing by them; for we find the Cardinal was no sooner retreated to *Esher*, but he was intirely neglected, nothing being thought of but how to carry on Prosecutions against him in the most effectual Manner, which were begun by Mr. *Hales*, Attorney General, before the Cardinal left *York-place*. This Lawyer drew up an Information against him on the Statute of Premunire, for holding his Legatine Court by Vritue of the Pope's Authority, and deciding Causes there, which ought to have been determined in the King's Court. Besides this Information Mr. Attorney afterwards drew up and preferred another against

Here we shall give the Reader a List of their Honours the *Masters of the Rolls*, and the other *Masters in Chancery*, from the *Restoration* of King *Charles* the II^d to this Time, with the Times of their Admissions, as they fell in Succession to their respective Office.

MASTERS of the ROLLS.

First Office.

1660, June 1, Sir J. Colepepper.
Nov. 3, Sir H. Grimston.
1684, June, Sir J. Churchill.
1685, Oct. 20, Sir John Trevor.
1688, March 13, H. Powle, Esq.
1692, Jan. 13, Sir John Trevor.
1717, July 13, Sir J. Fekyll.
1738, Oct. John Verney, Esq.
1741, Oct. W. Fortescue, Esq.

MASTERS in CHANCERY.

Second Office.

1660, June 2, Sir Thomas Bird.
1665, Jan. 26, Sir Wil. Lisle.
Nov. 15, R. Procter, Esq.
1669, Nov. John Halsey, Esq.
1670, July, Dr. Tim. Baldwin.
1682, Apr. 16, Rob. Legard, Esq.
1712, Oct. 17, Rob. Holford, Esq.

Third Office.

1660, June 4, Sir Nath. Hobart.
1673, Jan. 7, Miles Cook, Esq.
1693, Feb. Dr. Hen. Newton.
1701, Feb. 21, Wil. Rogers, Esq.
1721, Aug. 9, Wil. Kinaston, Esq.

Fourth Office.

1660, June, Sir Moses Bramston.
1675, Feb. 7, Sir John Hoskins.
1703, July 22, John Hiccocks, Esq.
1723, June 3, Tho. Bennet, Esq.

Fifth Office.

1660, June 4, Sir Will. Glascock.
1675, July 7, John Franklin, Esq.
1707, Aug. 22, Will. Fellows, Esq.
1723, Feb. 1, Fran. Eld, Esq.

Sixth Office.

1660, June 1, Sir Just. Lewin.
1672,

against him, for the like Offences, within two Days after the Cardinal had resigned the Great Seal.

And this Information sets forth, " That *The Informa-*
 " *Thomas, Legate de Latere*, Cardinal, *tion against*
 " and Archbishop of *York*, being not *him.*
 " ignorant of the Premises, had obtained certain
 " Bulls from *Clement* the VIIth, by Virtue of which
 " he exercised Jurisdiction and Authority *Legatine*, to
 " the Depravation of the King's Power established in
 " his Courts of Justice; which said Bulls he caused to
 " be publickly read in *Westminster*, assuming to him-
 " self thereupon the Dignity and Jurisdiction of *Le-*
 " *gate de Latere*, which he has exercised to this Day,
 " to

1672, Jan. Dr. Edw. Lowe.
 1684, May 31, Dr. J. Edisbury.
 1708, March, J. Mellor, Esq.
 1720, July 29, John Borrett, Esq.
 1724, August, M. Thurston, Esq.

Seventh Office.

1660, June 4, Sir Tho. Bennet.
 1670, July, Rob. Stewart, Esq.
 1672, July, Dr. Will. Howell.
 — Jan. W. Pagiter, Esq.
 — Febr. Sam. Clerke, Esq.
 1688, May 26, R. Meredith, Esq.
 1700, July, Tho. Gery, Esq.
 1719, Oct. 14, Rich. Godfrey, Esq.
 1726, Feb. Sam. Burroughs, Esq.

Eighth Office.

1660, June 1, Sir Will. Childe.
 1673, June, Sir L. W. Childe.
 1710, July 24, J. Orlebar, Esq.
 1720, Jan. 10, E. Conway, Esq.
 1726, Feb. 17, Robert Yard, Esq.
 1728, May 29, Anthony Allen, Esq.

Ninth Office.

1660, June 1, Sir Tho. Estcourt.
 1683, May, James Astry, Esq.
 1693, June, R. Holford, Esq.
 1710, Dec. 2, F. Dormer, Esq.

1721, May 18, H. Edwards, Esq.
 1726, Dec. F. C. Masham, Esq.
 1731, June 2, Will. Spicer, Esq.

Tenth Office.

1660, June 6, Sir W. Littleton.
 1670, Dec. Andr. Hackett, Esq.
 1618, July, Sir Adam Ottley.
 1693, Oct. 20, Tho. Pitt, Esq.
 1712, Nov. 3, H. Lovibond, Esq.
 1728, May 29, John Tothill, Esq.
 1732, Mar. Rich. Edwards, Esq.

Eleventh Office.

1660, June 6, Sir Edm Peirce.
 1667, Oct. 3, Dr. Tho. Croft.
 1670, Jan. Wil. Beversham, Esq.
 1688, Mar. 16, Sam. Keck, Esq.
 1711, June, S. Browning, Esq.
 1719, Jan. 7, J. Lightboun, Esq.
 1738, May, Edmund Sawyer, Esq.

Twelfth Office.

1660, June 18, Dr. Woolrich.
 1664, Oct. 1, Sir John Coell,
 1685, July 4, J. Methuen, Esq..
 1706, Aug. 7, J. Medlicote, Esq.
 1716, March 9, J. Bennet, Esq.
 1738, Feb. Henry Montague, Esq.

“ to the Prejudice of secular and ecclesiastical Persons ;
 “ and that by Colour thereof he had given away the
 “ Church of *Stow-guilford* in the County of *Surry*;
 “ all which was to the Contempt of the King and his
 “ Crown, and contrary to the aforefaid Statute of 16
 “ *Rich. II.* Moreover, that, by Colour of the faid
 “ Authority, he had caused the Laft Wills and Testa-
 “ ments of many out of his Diocefs to be exhibited
 “ and proved in his Court, and their Goods and Chat-
 “ tels to be adminiftred by fuch as he appointed :
 “ Alfo that, under Colour of his faid Authority, he
 “ had made divers Vifitations out of his Diocefs, and
 “ drawn Pensions from Abbeys, to the Contempt of
 “ the King and his Laws.”

*Attorneys af-
 signed him.*

As many Profecutions were fet on foot
 againft the Cardinal, no fooner was *Michaelmas* Term begun, but he received a
 Commiffion that empowered him to appoint proper
 Attorneys to defend him againft the different Profe-
 cutions that the Court was now very intent in carrying
 on againft him, the Original whereof in *Latin* is pre-
 ferved in *Rymer's Fæd.* Vol. XIV. and runs in *English*
 thus.*

As

* ‘ To appoint Attornies in the
 ‘ King’s Courts for the Lord
 ‘ CARDINAL.

‘ **T**HE King to all thofe to
 ‘ whom, &c. greeting,
 ‘ KNOW ye, that we, out of
 ‘ our fpecial Favour, certain
 ‘ Knowledge, and mere Inclination, have given and grant-
 ‘ ed, and by thefe Presents do
 ‘ give and grant fpecial License,
 ‘ as much as in us lies, to the
 ‘ moft Rev. Father in Chrift,
 ‘ *Thomas*, by divine Clemency,
 ‘ of the Holy Roman See, Legate

‘ a Latere, Cardinal Priest, Arch-
 ‘ bishop of *York*, Primate of
 ‘ *England*, or by what other
 ‘ additional Name, or Dignity
 ‘ foever that he is known by,
 ‘ that the faid moft Rev. Father
 ‘ may appoint and constitute one
 ‘ or two, born our liege Sub-
 ‘ jects, capable and difcreet Men,
 ‘ and learned in the Laws of our
 ‘ Kingdom of *England*, which he
 ‘ fhall think proper to chufe, or-
 ‘ dain or constitute his Attor-
 ‘ neys, jointly or feparately, free-
 ‘ ly and legally to act for him,
 ‘ in Form of Law, before us, in
 ‘ our

As soon as the Cardinal had received this Commission he appointed two Attorneys to defend his Causes, a Memorial whereof was fixed in the proper Courts, which we have here exhibited in *English*. *

The

our Chancery, and to gain or lose in all manner of Actions, Briefs, Pleas, Bills, Informations, Impeachments, Suits, Complaints, moved, followed or affirmed, or hereafter to be moved, prosecuted or affirmed, in our Court before us, or any, or either of our Courts, by whomsoever of our Judges, or Justices, against the said Cardinal alone, or against him and any other Person, or Persons jointly, at our Suit, or the Suit and Complaint of any other Person or Persons, willing to prosecute the said Cardinal for us and themselves, or for themselves alone, being moved, prosecuted, and affirmed, or to be moved, prosecuted, or affirmed, on any Contempts, Transgressions, or Offences whatsoever, perpetrated by the said Cardinal, or committed contrary to the Form of any Statute, of Ordinance, or Statutes, or Ordinances, of Provisoes or of Premunire, or either of them.

Willing, and, by the Tenor of these Presents, granting, as much as depends of us, that the said Attorneys jointly, or either of them separately may do and transact all and singular relating to us concerning the Premises, in the Stead or Name of the aforesaid Cardi-

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nal, as the said Cardinal might and ought to transact and do before us in our Court, or in the other Courts aforesaid, or either of them, if he himself were personally present.

And that the said Cardinal may have as many and such Briefs out of our Chancery for his said Attorneys in our said Court before us, and in all our other Courts aforesaid, for the same Cardinal in the Form above specified, to be admitted and received to gain or lose in all and singular the Actions, Briefs, Pleas, Bills, Informations, Suits, Impeachments and Complaints aforesaid, to be determined before the Judges or Justices aforesaid, and as many and such as may be necessary and useful from Time to Time to the same Cardinal.

In Testimony whereof, &c.

Witness the King at Westminster, the 2d of October.

* Of the Attorneys appointed by the Cardinal of York.

Memorandum, That, on the 27th Day of October, in the 19th Year of the Reign of the Lord Henry the VIIIth, by the Grace of God, of England and France King, De-

Qq

*Submits to
the King.*

The Cardinal, notwithstanding the King seemed to shew him some Marks of Favour, soon found, from the vigorous Proceedings carrying on against him, that he was resolved to have him at his Mercy upon the Statute of *Premunire*, altho' it appeared to the whole Nation, it was a great Hardship to have that Law let loose upon him; inasmuch as he had the King's Licence to execute his Legatine Commission: Yet, at the Importunity of several Lords of the Council, he declined pleading to the Information exhibited against him. This being known to the Court, the Judges were, for Form sake, sent down to him to demand his Answer, which he returned in these Words.

“ *My*

‘ Defender of the Faith, and Lord ‘ of <i>Ireland</i>, came before the ‘ King in his Chancery at <i>West-</i> ‘ <i>minster</i>, the most Rev. Father ‘ in Christ, <i>Thomas</i>, by Divine ‘ Clemency, <i>Legate a Latere</i> from ‘ the Apostolick See, Cardinal ‘ Priest, Archbishop of <i>York</i>, and ‘ Primate of <i>England</i>, and by ‘ Virtue of the Letters Patent of ‘ the Lord the King, bearing ‘ Date the 9th of <i>October</i>, in the ‘ 21st Year of his Reign, with ‘ the Permission granted to him ‘ by the said Lord the King, he ‘ constituted and appointed for ‘ his Attorneys jointly and sepa- ‘ rately in his Stead, in the said ‘ Court of Chancery, his belov- ‘ ed in Christ <i>John Scuse</i> and ‘ <i>Christopher Jenny</i>, Esqrs, and ‘ learned in the Laws of <i>Eng-</i> ‘ <i>land</i>, to gain or lose, in all ‘ and all manner of Actions, ‘ Briefs, Pleas, Bills, Informa- ‘ tions, Impeachments, Suits and ‘ Complaints, moved, prosecut- ‘ ed, affirmed, or hereafter to ‘ be moved, prosecuted, or af- ‘ firmed, in the Court of the	‘ Lord the King, before the ‘ same Lord the King; or in ‘ what other his Court or Courts ‘ soever, or either of them, and ‘ before what Judges or Justices ‘ soever of the said King, against ‘ the said Cardinal alone, or a- ‘ gainst him and some other Per- ‘ son or Persons jointly, or at ‘ the Suit of the said Lord the ‘ King, for the said Lord the ‘ King only, or at the Suit or ‘ Complaint of any other Person, ‘ or Persons, willing to complain ‘ and prosecute for the said Lord ‘ the King, and themselves, or ‘ for themselves alone against the ‘ aforesaid Cardinal moved, pro- ‘ secuted, or affirmed, or hereaf- ‘ ter to be moved, prosecuted, ‘ or affirmed, of what Con- ‘ tempts, Transgressions, or Of- ‘ fences, supposed, or to be sup- ‘ posed, to have been committed ‘ and perpetrated by the said ‘ Cardinal, against the Form of ‘ any Statute or Ordinance, or ‘ of any other Statutes or Or- ‘ dinances, of Provisoos or Pre- ‘ munire, or either of them.’
---	--

“ *My Lords Judges,*

“ **T**HE King’s Highness knoweth
 “ whether I have offended his Ma- *His Speech to*
 “ jesty or no, in using my Prerogative *the Judges.*
 “ Legatine, for which I am prosecuted : I had the
 “ King’s Licence in my Coffers under his Hand and
 “ Broad Seal, for the exercising and using thereof
 “ in the largest wise, the which now are in the Hands
 “ of mine Enemies : * Therefore, because I will not
 “ stand in Question with the King in his own Cause,
 “ I will here presently confess before you the In-
 “ formation, and put me wholly to the Grace and
 “ Mercy of the King ; trusting that he hath a *Con-*
 “ science, and a Discretion to consider the Truth, and
 “ my humble Submission and Obedience, wherein I
 “ might right well stand to the Trial thereof by
 “ Justice : But thus much you may say to his High-
 “ ness, that I am wholly under his Obeisance, and will
 “ and do submit myself to all Things that shall be his
 “ princely Pleasure, whose Will and Commandment
 “ I never disobeyed or repugned, but was always con-
 “ tented or glad to please him before God, whom
 “ I ought most chiefly to have obeyed, the which
 “ now makes me repent.”

To this the Judges made no other Reply than,
 “ That they would report his Answer to his Ma-
 “ jesty ;” and, upon their Return to *London*, Judg-
 ment was signed : Notwithstanding this, the Cardinal
 had before received Assurances from his Majesty,
 that he would not proceed to the utmost Rigour of
 the Law.

Qq 2

Upon

* It is very likely from this Speech, that the Cardinal would have put himself upon Trial by his Country, if his Books, Writings, and Papers had not been arbitrarily taken from him, which shews the Happiness we enjoy at this Time, when every Man

has, by Law, the Privilege of having his Papers restored to him, in order to make his Defence, before he can be compelled to appear in any of our Courts of Justice to abide a Trial : A Privilege we hope our Country will always enjoy.

Upon the Judgment's being signed, the Cardinal's whole Estate, both real and personal, was forfeited to the King, himself out of the King's Protection, and his Person subject to Imprisonment, the usual Sentence incurred on a *Premunire*: And, as he was now entirely under Disgrace, we may look upon him hereafter as a kind of Prisoner at large in his Residence at *Esher*.

The Writer of the *Church History* with great Truth says, "That it is not only from the Cardinal's Words, that we are assured he exercised the *Legatine* Power by Royal Authority; several publick Records expressly make mention of it: There is the King's Letters Patent confirming the Pope's Bull to that Purpose; and the 28th Article, which was exhibited in Parliament against him, charges him not with the *Use*, but the *Abuse* of his Power."

Fish, one that had abused the Cardinal, received into Favour.

As the Cardinal was now in Disgrace, *Simon Fish*, who was afterwards a zealous Man for the *Reformation*, was sent for back to *England*, and kindly received by the King. He had before quitted his Country upon the Account of a Play that was wrote by one *Roe*, one of the Parts in which highly reflected upon the Cardinal; and, on endeavouring to get it acted, it was refused by several Persons, but when he applied to this *Fish*, he fell in readily with his Request.

Fish had had a good Academical Education, was for some time a Student in *Gray's-Inn*, and his being introduced into the King's Favour was upon this Occasion. When he was Abroad, he fell into Company with the famous *William Tyndal*; who, on his acquainting him with the Reason that obliged him to quit his Country, put him upon Writing a little Book, calculated to defame the Cardinal and the Clergy, which they entitled, *The Supplication of Beggars*.

gars. It begins with a lamentable Complaint of the Misery of the Times, &c. and enters into bitter Reflections upon the Cardinal, Bishops, Priors, Monks, Friars, &c. a Copy of this Book (after the Affair of the Divorce was commenced, the Proceedings thereon not pleasing the Court) he sent to the Lady *Anna Bulleyn*, who, as soon as she had perused it, believing it might answer the End of defaming the Cardinal still more, gave it to his Majesty, who received it with a seeming Approbation. This emboldened *Fish's* Friends to cause divers Copies of it to be scattered up and down *London*. Of this Usage *Wolsey* complained to the King, but no notice was taken of it: On the contrary, *Fish* was more and more countenanced by the Partizans against the Cardinal.

After his Return to *England* he translated, from the *Dutch* into *English*, a Piece, entitled, *The Sum of the Scriptures*, which was also well approved of: But at last he died of the Plague in the Year 1531, and was buried in the Church of *St. Dunstan in the West, London*.

The Cardinal, however, bore up under his Misfortunes as well as the Circumstances of his Affairs would admit of: For on *All-Saints* Day, after Divine Service, there dined with the Cardinal several of his Chaplains and other Ecclesiasticks, who had an immediate Dependance upon him; and, among the rest, *Thomas Cromwell*, his Chief Sollicitor. In the Discourse that happened at Table, Mr. *Cromwell* took the Liberty to mention the Fidelity of most of his Eminence's Servants, who had not deserted him in his Troubles, nor had they any Likelihood of being considered. After Dinner the Cardinal, being in private with *Cromwell*, entered upon the same Subject, when *Cromwell* proposed a Way in some measure to provide for them, but not without some tart Reflections upon the Cardinal's Chaplains, who possessed very large Revenues thro' his Eminence's Means.

The Cardinal's Behaviour under his Misfortunes.

Means. Soon after this Conference the whole House assembled in the Hall, by the Cardinal's Order, where he presented himself in his Pontifical Attire, and, having viewed his Domesticks as they were ranged on both Sides of the Room, he turned towards the Window, to wipe away the Tears, which he could not refrain from shedding at the Sight of so many old and faithful Servants, whom he was not able to reward according to their Merits. They, on the other hand, could not behold so kind a Master with dry Eyes, whom he endeavoured to comfort with a moving Speech, (which *Cavendish* gives us at length) and concluded it with protesting, *That he had nothing left to distribute among them, besides the Garments he wore, which he was willing to strip himself of, and divide among them.* Mr. *Cromwell* took hold of that Motion, and contributed somewhat out of his Pocket, which induced the Chaplains to make a Collection among themselves, proportionable to their Revenues; by which Means the Cardinal was enabled to discharge his Servants, and allow them several Months Substinance; some of whom returned to their Families or Friends, but others staid with the Cardinal to see the Issue of his Misfortunes.

The next Day Mr. *Cromwell* set out for *London* to attend both his Master's and his own Affairs, having first declared, *he would mar all, or make all*, (his usual Saying) and, if he succeeded, he would be back again in a few Days.

About 12 o'Clock at Night, after Sir John Russell attends the Cardinal. Mr. *Cromwell* had left *Essex*, Sir John *Russell* arrived there, being sent privately by the King, then residing at *Greenwich*, whose Business was to assure the Cardinal, that he was still in the King's Favour, in Token whereof his Majesty had sent him with another Ring, set with a *Turkish* Stone, with Orders to tell him, "That he was sorry he had given so much Credit
" to



To his Grace JOHN DUKE of BEDFORD &c.
 This Plate of his Great & Ancestor,
 is humbly Inscribed by his Graces,
 most obed.^t humble Serv.^t — Joseph Grove.

“ to the Insinuations of his Enemies :’ And, as soon as Sir *John Russell* had delivered his Message, he took Horse, and was back again at *Greenwich* before Break-of-day. What passed on this Occasion *Cavendish* relates.

Soon after this the Cardinal had Part of his Furniture and some of his Plate, &c. restored to him, which was a great Mortification to those who were resolved to ruin him one Way or other.

The Cardinal besides this, upon Application, obtained from the King this Licence and Protection*.

The King grants the Cardinal a Protection, &c.

Tho’

* ‘ *The KING, To all whom it may concern, greeting.*

‘ **W**HEREAS *Thomas*, by Divine Permission, Cardinal Priest, Archbishop of *York*, Primate of *England*, on *Saturday* next after the Feast of *St. Michael* last past, in our Court before us, of and concerning a certain Bill by our Attorney General, in our said Court, first preferred for us, against the aforesaid Cardinal, by the Name of the most Rev. Father *Thomas*, &c. that is to say, on the 9th Day of *October* last past, for divers grievous Contempts, Transgressions, and Offences, lately committed and perpetrated by the said Cardinal against us, our Crown, Dignity, and Prerogative, and against the Statute of Provisions made in the Parliament, held at *Winchester* by *Richard* the II^d, King of *England*, after the Conquest, our Progenitor, and in the 16th Year of his Reign, was convicted, and by the Sentence of

‘ our said Court, was put out of our Protection.

‘ And whereas the aforesaid Cardinal, that is to say, on the next after the Morrow of *St. Martin* last past, in our said Court before us, of and concerning another Bill, first preferred by our said Attorney General, in our said Court, for us, against the aforesaid Cardinal, that is to say, on the 20th of *October* last past, for divers other grievous Contempts, Transgressions and Offences, committed and perpetrated by the said Cardinal, against us, our Crown, Dignity, and Prerogative; and the Form of the said Statute was convicted, and, by the Sentence of our said Court, put out of our Protection, as may be plainly seen by the separate Records relating to the Premises, kept before us in our said Court.

‘ And afterwards the same Cardinal most humbly entreated of us, that he, being thus out of our Protection, has probable Conjectures to fear, that he may be

*He enquires af-
ter his Estates.*

Tho' the King granted the Cardinal this last mentioned Favour, yet he and his Ministers omitted not to make the most diligent Enquiry to find out any Estate or Effects that belonged to his late Minister, and when any appeared, they were immediately confiscated to the King's Use; the Form of the Inquisition we have here exhibited.*

But

' be easily set upon by certain
' Rivals, to the Damage and
' Danger of his Body, unless we
' mercifully succour him.

' Being willing graciously to
' provide, in this Behalf, for the
' Security of his Body, against
' the Malice of his said Rivals,
' we, being favourably inclined
' to the said Petition, out of our
' special Grace, have taken and
' received, and by these Presents
' do take and receive the Body
' and Person of the aforesaid Car-
' dinal, from the Day of the
' Date of these Presents, during
' our Pleasure, into our Protec-
' tion and Safeguard in the Man-
' ner and Form following, *viz.*

' We forbid all and singular
' our Subjects, and every of them,
' of what State, Degree, or
' Condition soever they may be,
' that they or any of them nei-
' ther do, nor procure to be done,
' any Damage or Harm to the
' said Cardinal's Body: And we
' grant our firm Peace by these
' Presents to the said Cardinal
' during our Pleasure.

' And further, out of our
' more bountiful Grace, we grant
' to the said Cardinal, that he
' may prosecute and follow all
' and whatsoever our Personal
' Briefs; as likewise all Man-
' ner of personal Actions, Suits,

' Complaints, and Bills, on what-
' soever Transgressions and other
' personal Causes, accruing and
' happening to him from hence
' forward, or that may be com-
' mitted or perpetrated by him,
' in our said Court before us,
' or before whomsoever of our
' Judges, or Justices, according
' to the Laws and Customs of
' our Kingdom of *England*, and
' that he ought to be answered
' in the said Prosecutions, and
' likewise from time to time to
' demand and have the Sentences
' and Execution due and issuing
' thereupon during our Pleasure,
' as the Causes and Case shall
' require in Law. Whatever Sta-
' tute, &c. In Testimony where-
' of, &c. Witness the King at
' *Westminster* the 18th of *Nov.*

' By the KING in Person.'

* ' *The KING to his beloved and
' faithful Rodolph Badman,
' Knt. John Baker and Wil-
' liam Walsyngham, greeting.*

' **K** NOW ye that we have
' constituted you, three or
' two of you, our Commission-
' ers to enquire, on the Oath of
' of honest and just Men of the
' City of *London* aforesaid, as
' well within as without the Li-
' berties, by whom the Truth of
' the

Rush, his Friend, chosen a Member of that great Assembly.

*Proceedings of
the Eighth
Parliament.
1529.*

On the 3d of *November* the Parliament met at *Black-friars*, where, the King being seated upon his Throne in the House of Lords, and the Commons attending, Sir *Thomas More*, Lord Chancellor, standing on his Majesty's Right-hand within the Bar, opened the Cause of calling them together with a Speech, in which he observed, as *Hall* has handed it to us, " That, like a good Shepherd, " which not only keepeth and attendeth well his " Sheep, but also foreseeeth and provideth for all " Things, that might be either hurtful or noisome " to his Flock, or may preserve and defend the " same against all Perils that may chance to come ; " so the King, who was the Shepherd, Ruler, and " Governor of his Realm, vigilantly foreseeing Things " to come, considering how divers Laws which, be- " fore that Time made, were now, by long Conti- " nuance of Time and Mutation of Things, very in- " sufficient and imperfect ; and also, by the frail " Condition of Men, divers new Enormities were " sprung up among the People, for which no Law " was

" Presents, that they bring be-
" fore you three, or two of you,
" on certain Days, and at cer-
" tain Places, of which you are
" to give them Notice, such and
" as many honest and just Men
" from their Bailiwicks, as well
" within the Liberties as without,
" by whom the Truth of the
" Matter in the Premises may
" be the better known and en-
" quired into, pursuant to the
" Number and Qualities of the
" Persons which you shall re-
" quire, in our Behalf, to be
" brought before you.

" And we therefore command
" you to proceed carefully and
" diligently on the Premises, and
" to execute and fulfil the same
" with Effect. *Salvo* the Amerce-
" ments from issuing and pertain-
" ing to us.

" In Testimony whereof, &c.
" Witness the King at *West-*
" *ster*, &c."

And Commissions of the same Nature were sent to all the Shires, Cities, and Burroughs, &c. in the Kingdom.

“ was yet made to reform the same, which was
 “ the Cause that induced the King at this Time to
 “ summons his Parliament.” Then Sir *Thomas*
 assigns the Reason for his likening the King to a
 Shepherd or Herdsman; “ For if a Prince be com-
 “ pared to his Riches, he is but a rich Man; if a
 “ Prince be compared to his Honour, he is but an
 “ honourable Man; but compare him to the Multi-
 “ tude of his People, and the Number of his Flock,
 “ then he is a Ruler, a Governor, of Might and
 “ Puissance; so that his People maketh him a Prince,
 “ as of the Multitude of the Sheep cometh the Shep-
 “ herd: As you see that amongst a great Flock of
 “ Sheep some be rotten and faulty, which the good
 “ Shepherd sendeth from the good Sheep; so the
 “ great *Wether*, which is of late fallen, as you all
 “ know, so craftily, so scabbily, and so unrulily juggled
 “ with the King, that all Men must needs guess
 “ and think, that he thought in himself, that they
 “ had no Wit to perceive his crafty Doings, or else
 “ that he presumed that the King would not see
 “ or perceive his fraudulent Juggling and Attempts;
 “ but he was deceived, for his Grace’s Sight was so
 “ quick and penetrable, that he saw him, yea, and
 “ saw through him both within and without; so that
 “ all Things were open, and according to his Desert
 “ he hath had a *gentle Correction*,* which *small Pu-*
 “ *nishment* the King would not only have to be an
 “ Example to other Offenders, but clearly declareth,
 “ that whosoever hereafter should make the like At-
 “ tempt, or commit the like Offence, shall not e-
 R r 2 scape

* That is, stripped the Cardi-
 dinal of all that he had; and
 what was attempted, before the
 breaking up of the Parliament,
 shews it was to have been a
heavy Correction. It has been
 happy, for some since, that the

Proceedings of those Times have
 not been followed by their Poste-
 rity; for, if that had been the
 Case, we leave our Readers
 to judge what would have been
 the Fate of some great Mi-
 nisters since his Time.

“scape with like Punishment. And because you of
 “the Common House be a gross Multitude, and
 “cannot speak all at one Time: Therefore the King’s
 “Pleasure is, you shall resort to the Nether House,
 “and there among yourselves, according to the old
 “and antient Custom, to chuse an able Person to be
 “your common Mouth and Speaker; and, after
 “your Election be made, to advertise his Grace
 “thereof, who will declare to you what Day he would
 “have him presented in his Place.”

Upon this the Commons repaired to their House, and chose for their Speaker *Thomas Audley*, Esq; Attorney General of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and the same Day the Parliament adjourned to *Westminster*. On the 6th of *November* the King came again to the House of Lords in the same State as before, and there the Commons presented their Speaker to him in Form.

Mr. *Audley* upon this Occasion spoke to the King touching two Points: 1st, “He praised his Majesty
 “for his Equity and Justice, which was mixed with
 “Mercy and Pity; so that no Offence was forgotten
 “or left unpunished: Yet, in the Punishment, the
 “Extremity and Rigour of the Law were not
 “cruelly extended; which should be the Cause to
 “bridle all Men from doing like Offences, and also
 “a Comfort to Offenders to confess their Crimes
 “and Offences, which would be the Means of Amend-
 “ment and Reconciliation.

The second Point was relating to “his Inability to
 “execute so high an Office that the Commons had
 “elected him into, and therefore prayed his Majesty
 “to order the Commons to resort to their House, and
 “chuse another Speaker;” which being denied, and the King declaring his Approbation of him, the Speaker thereupon made the usual Request on Behalf of the Commons, which was granted, and they then returned to their House; and the first Matter they proceeded

ceeded on was to enquire into the disgraced Minister's Administration; and in the Course of the Debate several smart Reflections on him (as usual in the like Cases) were thrown out; all which *Cromwell* as smartly answered, so that the Commons did not then think proper to form any Articles of Impeachment: But (whilst they were busy in passing several Acts, the most material of which were *) the Lords exhibited no less than forty Articles against *Wolsey*, which were signed chiefly by the Court Creatures; therefore it seems feasible enough, that the kind Messages, before sent him by the King, were only Sugar-plumbs to decoy him (as the Cardinal expressed it) into *Fools Paradise*. The Substance of the Articles we have here given, with some Remarks thereon,

The

* I. The King was discharged from the Payment of several Sums, lent him at different Times by his Subjects.

II. That the Executors of a Will, who take upon them the Burthen of it, should have Liberty to sell such Estates as the Testator devised to be sold by his Will.

III. That for Probates of Wills, where a Man dies only worth 5 *l.* clear, there should be paid but Six-pence, if worth 40 *l.* three Shillings and Six-pence, and if more than 40 *l.* five Shillings.

IV. That Mortuaries should be paid only where they used to be paid, and according to the following Rate: If one dies worth 10 Marks clear, 3 *s.* 4 *d.* if above 30 *l.* clear, 6 *s.* 8 *d.* if above 40 *l.* clear, 10 *s.* and this to be paid only by House-keepers, but not to extend to *Wales* or *Berwick upon Tweede*.

V. That Servants, embezzeling their Master or Mistress's Goods

in any House, should suffer as Felons.

VI. That no spiritual Person should take any Lands to farm upon Pain of forfeiting ten Pounds a Month; and that no Clergyman that hath any Benefice with Cure of Souls of the yearly Value of eight Pounds, or above, should take another, unless qualified, as being a Doctor, or Batchelor of Divinity, or Chaplain to a Nobleman; and this Act sets forth how many each Peer may have; an Archbishop eight; a Duke or Bishop six; a Marquis and Earl five, a Viscount four, the High Chancellor, every Baron, Knight of the Garter, three; every Dutches, Marchioness, Countess and Baroness, being Widows, and the Treasurer, and Comptroler of the Household, the King's Secretary, Dean of the Chapel, Attorney and Master of the Rolls, two; the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Warden of *Cinque Ports*, one.

The PREAMBLE to the Articles.

Articles exhibited against the Cardinal in the House of Lords.

“ **C**ONstrained by Necessity, out of
 “ our Fidelity and Conscience, we
 “ complain and sue to your most Royal
 “ Majesty, we your Grace’s humble, true,
 “ faithful and obedient Subjects, That
 “ the Lord Cardinal of *York*, lately your Grace’s
 “ Chancellor, presuming to take upon him the Au-
 “ thority of the Pope’s *Legate de Latere*, hath, by
 “ divers, and many fundry Ways and Fashions, com-
 “ mitted high and notable grievous Offences, mis-
 “ using, altering, and subverting the Order of your
 “ Grace’s Laws, and otherwise, contrary to your
 “ high Honour, Prerogative, Crown, Estate, and Dig-
 “ nity Royal, to the inestimable great Hindrance,
 “ Diminution and Decay of this your Grace’s Realm,
 “ as it is touched summarily and particularly in cer-
 “ tain Articles here following, which be but a few
 “ in Comparifon of all his Enormities, Excesses, and
 “ Transgressions against your Grace’s Laws.”

I. Asserts the Kings of *England* have been so free for the Space of 200 Years, that they have had in all the World no other Sovereign, but immediately subject to Almighty God, whereby your Grace may prescribe against the Pope’s Holiness, that he should not, nor ought not, to send or make any Legate, to execute any Authority Legatine, contrary to your Grace’s Prerogative, within this your Realm : Now the Lord Cardinal of *York* being your Subject, and natural Liege born, hath of his high Mind, for his own Advancement and Profit, in Derogation and Hurt of your said Royal Jurisdiction and Prerogative, and the long Continuance of the Possession of the same, obtained Authority *Legatine*, by reason whereof he has not only hurt your said Prescription, but hath spoiled and taken away, from many Houses of Religion within
 this

this your Realm, much Substance of their Goods; and also hath usurped upon all your Ordinaries within this your Realm much Part of their Jurisdiction, to the great Hurt, &c.

In Answer to this his Advocates argued, That they could not conceive how his Legatine Power could be construed in Contempt or Prejudice of the King, or that it was against any Statute of Provisoers heretofore made. But this last Assertion seems only a colourable Plea; for the Cardinal, who had so long presided in the Court of Chancery, and as Legate at the Head of the Church, could not be ignorant of a Law so well known, and which principally concerned Ecclesiasticks: Therefore we apprehend, as the Cardinal did nothing but what the King previously approved of, and consented to, he might reasonably presume his Master would not take the Advantage of any Forfeiture incurred by him; but would rather make use of his Prerogative to protect a Minister from the Penalties of the Law, who acted in Virtue of his own Commission: And the Cardinal must have entertained Thoughts very injurious to the Honour of the King, if he had even but suspected, that he could be capable of forsaking or giving up a Servant, who had done no Crime, as to this Particular, but what he was privileged from the Throne to commit; though many Instances may be given to shew, that Ministers have been punished for executing even certain positive Orders, wherewith they were charged by their Princes; and it is somewhat reasonable there should be Examples of publick Justice of this Kind, especially where a Commission derogatory to the Honour of the Crown, or prejudicial to the publick Peace, Safety, and Interest, has been fraudulently obtained.

But, whatever Ministers of State have at any Time suffered, for acting in Concession to their Princes, or in Pursuance to their Instructions, there are few Instances

stances in History, except in the Reign of *Henry the VIIIth*, where any Prince appeared in such a Case as a Party in the Prosecution, to the End that himself alone might reap the Emoluments arising from it.

II. That he made a Treaty without his Master's Consent.

III. That he empowered *Sir Gregory de Cassali* to conclude a Treaty of Amity with the Duke of *Ferrara*, without any Warrant from the King.

IV. That he joined himself with the King, in his Letters and Instructions abroad, *The King and I give unto you our hearty Thanks*, quoth he, whereby it is apparent, that he used himself more like a Fellow unto your Highness than a Subject. — This Expression, though not to be defended, is not near so insolent as that *Fox* charges him with, *I and my King command you to do thus*, placing himself first, and making the King his Property; for which *Fox* has no manner of Authority.

V. That he caused his Servants to be sworn true to him only, as if there had been no Sovereign.

VI. That, knowing himself to have the *Great Pox*,* he breathed upon his Grace with his perilous and infective Breath, to the marvellous Danger of your Highness, if God, &c.

VII. That he, by his Authority *Legatine*, had disposed of divers Benefices, belonging to Persons as well spiritual as temporal, contrary to Law, and therefore hath incurred the Forfeiture of his Lands and Goods to the King. — And yet *Rapin* affirms, “ That the
“ Car-

* If these Gentlemen had not talked of the Cardinal's infecting his Majesty by his *Breath*, we should be at a Loss to know, whether the *French Pox*, or the *Small Pox*, was here meant; but *that* makes it out of Doubt; for, according to the Notion now prevailing, a Communication of *Flesh* is rather conducive to the former, than *Breath*. This shews how they were put to it.

“ Cardinal was not accused in the House of Lords
“ of exercising the Authority of *Legate*.”

VIII. That Ambassadors had come first to him, and he had heard their Charges and Intents alone.

IX. That he received Letters, sent from beyond the Seas to the King, contrary to Order, &c. —
In both these Respects, we apprehend, he acted agreeable to the Nature of his Post, the Trusts reposed in him, and according to the Method that still generally obtains in all Courts where there is a Prime Minister.

X. That he had directed Persons, having Reports to make of Affairs done beyond the Seas, should at their Return come first to him, and, in case they did the contrary, he punished them.

XI. That he had granted Licences for carrying Grain and other Victuals out of the Land after Prohibition.

XII. That he was wont to write Letters of his own Mind, without the King's Orders.

XIII. That he received Gratuities from Religious Houses, so that they were not able to keep up Hospitality, as they were used to do, &c.

XIV. That he promised upon the suppressing of such Religious Houses, that the Possessions of them should be set to farm among the King's Lay Subjects, after such reasonable yearly Rents, as that they should be able to live and keep up good Hospitality, which he did not do.

XV. That, in sitting among the Lords and others of the Privy Council, he used, if any Man would shew his Mind contrary to the Cardinal's Opinion, so to take them up, that they had better have held their Peace; and that he consumed much Time with a *fair Tale*. *

XVI. That he was the undoing of the Subjects, for want of dispatching their Affairs, &c.

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XVII.

* If telling *fair Tales* in our Time were to be deemed *treasonable* we should have had many more Impeachments.

XVII. That, by his Authority *Legatine*, he had taken, upon the Death of spiritual Men, their Riches and Substance to his own Use, by reason whereof their Wills were not performed; and used Means to put so in fear those that were made Executors, as to cause them to refuse to meddle.

XVIII. That he constrained all Ordinaries in *England* yearly to compound with him, &c.

XIX. That he slandered the Clergy to the Pope, to answer his own Ends.

XX. That he examined divers Matters in the *Chancery*, after Judgment thereof given at the *Common Law*.

—— That is, in Fact, he did what properly belonged to his Office as Chancellor; and Lord *Herbert* allows the Justice of his Administration in general, but particularly in his publick Hearing of Causes.

XXI. That he granted Injunctions by Writ, and the Party never called thereunto, nor Bill put in against them.—— If this was really the Case the Court must have been imposed upon, for the Course is, there must be produced a Certificate of the Bill being filed, and then in special Matters, as to Staying Waste, &c. Injunctions are granted, before the Defendant is served with Process to answer.

XXII. That he caused divers Pardons granted by the Pope, to be suspended, till he obtained something for himself.—— Why did not their Lordships send this Complaint to *Rome*?

XXIII. That he turned out his Tenants from his Estates, though they had good and sufficient Grants thereof by Law.

XXIV. That he prevailed with Religious Houses, on the Demise of their Heads, to submit their Elections to him, by which Means he got Goods from them to the almost undoing them, &c.

XXV. That, by his Authority *Legatine*, he had visited most Part of the Religious Houses and Colleges, and had taken from them the 25th Part of their Livelihood,

lihood, to the great Derogation of the Laws, &c.—
This is not a Tenth.

XXVI. That, when Matters were near a Judgment at Common Law, he granted Injunctions, &c.—
 — Which has always been the Practice of this Court, when it is agreeable to Equity ; and here is not any particular Charge of Injustice done by the Cardinal on that Account.

XXVII. That he took from his Son *Winter* his Income of 2700*l.* a Year, applied it to his own Use, and gave him only 200*l.* yearly to live on.—
 A very extraordinary Charge indeed ! restrained his Son's Extravagance.

XXVIII. That he did not perform his Promise when chose *Legate de Latere*, of not executing it to the Prejudice of the Ordinary's Jurisdiction.— Upon which Condition, it seems, that Power was obtained : But there was no Inconsistency between his Promise and the Exercise of his Legatine Power ; a Right of visiting all the Clergy of *England*, both exempt and not exempt, being properly, as it had been formerly exercised, within the Legatine Commission, by which therefore the Ordinary's Jurisdiction was superceded. See Article 1.

XXIX. That he made untrue Surmises at *Rome* against the Clergy, in respect to their Manner of Living.— As extraordinary as Article 19.

XXX. That he had Part of Dr. *Smith's* (Bishop of *Lincoln*) Goods, and others, contrary to their Wills.

XXXI. That he prevented Indictments being preferred at *York* against the Ordinaries.— But before he is charged with using these Gentlemen ill.

XXXII. That he raised Dissentions, by untrue *Tales*, amongst the Nobles.— A treasonable *Tale* indeed !

XXXIII. That his Officers compelled the Subjects to serve him with Carts for Carriage, and his Servants bought Victuals at the King's Price, contrary to Law.

—— Strange Sort of Treason this, as well as that in Article 35, for his Servants to buy Provisions for his Family as cheap as his Master's did for his.

XXXIV. That he kept too great a Court in the King's Absence.—— If he had kept none, he would very likely have been impeached for being a *Miser*: So that let great Personages live *splendid* or *close*, the censorious Multitude will always be carping.

XXXV. That his Servants bought Cattle and Provisions as cheap as the King's Purveyors.

XXXVI. That he did not let the King's Purveyors have yearly out of the Town and Liberty of *St. Alban's* three or four hundred Quarters of Wheat, as formerly accustomed.—— Prevented an Infringement.

XXXVII. That he hindred the King's Servants, who had Causes before him in the *Star-chamber*, from applying to the King for Pardon.

XXXVIII. That he unwarrantably committed Sir *John Stanley*, Knt. to the Prison of the *Fleet*: And had had two Children by a Woman that was under his Care.—— A new Sort of Treason!

XXXIX. That he pulled down the King's Clerk's Price set upon Victuals, &c. and put up his own; on which he is charged with making himself equal to the King.—— Only regulating an Exorbitancy.

XL. That he presumed to join and imprint the Cardinal's Hat under the King's Arms, in his Coin of Groats made at *York*.

XLI. That he countenanced, by an Injunction, the Dean of the Cardinal's College in *Oxford*, to take certain Tithes and Profits out of a Parsonage in *Buckinghamshire*, which appertained to another; and that he committed one *Johnson* to the *Fleet*, for opposing the same, where he remained for the Space of twelve Months.—— If every Chancellor since his Time had been impeached of Treason, for committing irregular Persons to the *Fleet*, there would but very few have escaped.

XLII.

XLII. That he granted an Injunction in relation to an Estate, where the Matter was not properly brought before the Court.—See Art. 1, and 26.

XLIII. That he opposed those who were for prosecuting Persons charged with Heresy ; for that, two Bishops being minded and desirous to repair unto the University of *Cambridge* for Examination, Reformation, and Correction of such Errors as then seemed and were reported to reign among the Students and Scholars of the same, as well touching the *Lutheran* Sect and Opinions as otherwise, the Lord Cardinal being informed thereof, expressly inhibited and commanded them in no wise so to do ; by Means whereof the same Errors crept more Abroad and took greater Place ; and that it was not their Defaults, that the said Heresies were not punished, but the said Lord Cardinal's. ——— A very noble Charge against him, highly to his Honour, for that it proves he was not of a persecuting Temper. Had the Cardinal, instead of interposing to prevent, encouraged a *religious Inquisition*, which might have been attended with unreasonable Severities, a Cause of Complaint against him, for the Abuse of his great Power, had been much better founded : But what could induce his Enemies to cite an Instance of his *abusing* his Power, so very honorary to his Memory, and so capable even at that Time of a good Defence ? There were some few Persons indeed that were brought to *abjure*, but none to be *burnt*, where he was properly concerned, or had any direct Authority. There were no Fires in *Smithfield* during his Ministry. It was in the Sequel of *Henry* the VIIIth's Reign they were kindled ; and even, whilst that great Prelate *Cranmer* presided at the Head of the Church, Persecution begun to reign, and the Blood of *English Protestants* to flow.

XLIV. Finally, they say, from the Articles it is evident, that the Cardinal, by his outrageous Pride,
had

had greatly shadowed for a long Season the King's Honour, &c. And conclude with praying the King, of his Goodness towards the Weal of his Realm, to set such Order and Direction upon the said Cardinal as might be to the *terrible* Example of others to beware so to offend the Laws, &c.

This is subscribed the first Day of Dec. by

Sir T. More, Chanc.
The Duke of Norfolk,
The Duke of Suffolk,
T. Dorsett,
H. Exon,
John Oxinford,
H. Northumberland,
G. Shrewsbury,

R. Fitzwalter,
T. Rockford,
W. Mountjoy,
W. Sandys,
W. Fitzwilliam,
Henry Guildeford,
Anthony Fitz Herbert,
John Fitz James.

That is, by the Chancellor, a Dozen Lords, and three Commoners. A great Number truly! — *Several of whom were under the highest Obligations to him, as they justly acknowledged in his Prosperity.*

*The Articles re-
jected in the House
of Commons.*

Mr. Cromwell was as watchful of what was doing against the Cardinal in the House of Lords, as he had been to break the Force of the Attempts against him in the House of Commons, and every Day remitted him Advice of the Proceedings in both Houses: And it is agreed, though the Articles were sent to the Commons for their Approbation, in order to get the Cardinal committed, Cromwell acted so acutely, that the House unanimously throwed them out, and acquitted *Wolfey* from the Charges alledged against him; as Bishop *Burnet* also admits: And the Cardinal was so confident of his Innocency, and so far from being in any Tremors, (as his Adversaries have taken much Pains to make the World believe) that he told *Cavendish*, on their being read, *If I may come to my Answer, I fear no Man alive; for he liveth not, that, looking upon*

upon this Face, (pointing to his own) shall be able to accuse me of any Untruth; and that mine Enemies well know.*

The Cardinal's Acquital under such Circumstances, upon the Defence made for him by a Person at that Time so inconsiderable, and suspected of being partial to him, affords very reasonable Grounds of Presumption, that the Articles in general against him had no very solid Foundation.

The learned Mr. Collier, in the Conclusion of his Observations on the Articles exhibited against the Cardinal in Parliament, observes, “ That Lord Herbert admits, *that nothing of this Nature was objected to the Cardinal, till he fell under the King's Displeasure;* which was a Sign, that it was the Envy and Ambition of his Enemies that found the Impeachment; they maligned his Greatness, coveted his Posts; and it might be hoped, that Part of his Wealth might fall to their Share. That the Articles would not stand the Test is plain, by their being thrown out of the House of Commons, where *Cromwell*, by the Cardinal's Instructions, disproved and broke the Force of them as soon as they were urged.”

*Mr. Collier's
Remarks upon
the Articles.*

But the learned Bishop Burnet says, “ The Cardinal was admitted to sit in the House of Lords, where he shewed himself as submissive in his Fawning, as he had formerly done in his Scorn and Contempt of all that durst oppose him”: Though it is hardly Sense. Here is a Fact which never subsisted, related, and no other Evidence given, than the Author's positive Affirmation: But, as Reasons why it is not true, please to consider, 1st, The Cardinal during the whole Sessions of Parliament remained at *Essex*. 2^{dly}, As he was

* We wish every Statesman, may be truly qualified to say the laying his Hand to his Heart, same!

was condemned in a *Premunire*, he was, during the whole Sitting of the Parliament, liable to the Penalties of it ; therefore could not sit in the House.

Mr. Salmon's Account. Mr. *Salmon* says, “ That the Cardinal’s Enemies procured a Bill to be brought into the House of Lords, and on the 1st of Dec. had Interest enough to get it passed in that House, without affording his Eminence an Opportunity of making his Defence, either in Person or by Counsel : That this Bill was founded upon 44 Articles, which, being debated in the House of Commons, were shewn to have no Treason in them by the celebrated *Cromwell*, formerly a Dependant of the Cardinal’s ; and, to his everlasting Honour, had Courage and Address to defend his old Master against the Fury of the new Ministry, and the whole Body * of Peers, and occasioned the rejecting this Bill of Attainder by the Commons.”

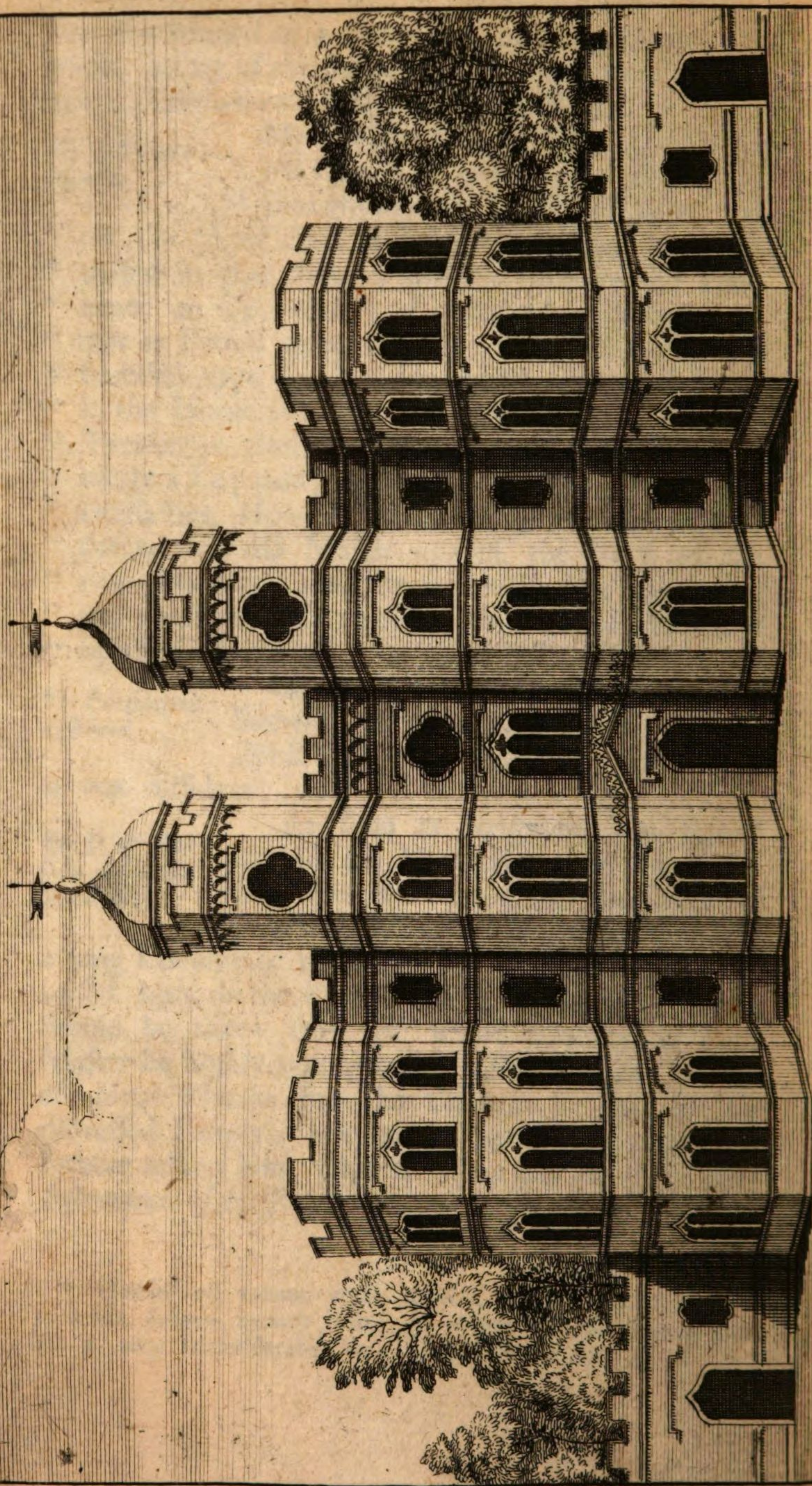
The Parliament dissolved. On the 17th of *December*, the Parliament was prorogued to the 27th of *April* following, and some time after it was dissolved.

The D. of Norfolk visits the Cardinal. As soon as Judgment was signed against the Cardinal, in the Court below upon the *Premunire*, the Duke of *Norfolk* paid him a Visit, when they had a long Conference together, in which the Duke promised him, in the King’s Name, that all his Servants should be taken care of, whose Fidelity to their Master he highly commended. The Cardinal returned him Thanks for the Concern he had for his distressed Family ; but at the same time could not forbear telling him, *That his Grace was one of the chief Instruments of his Ruin.*

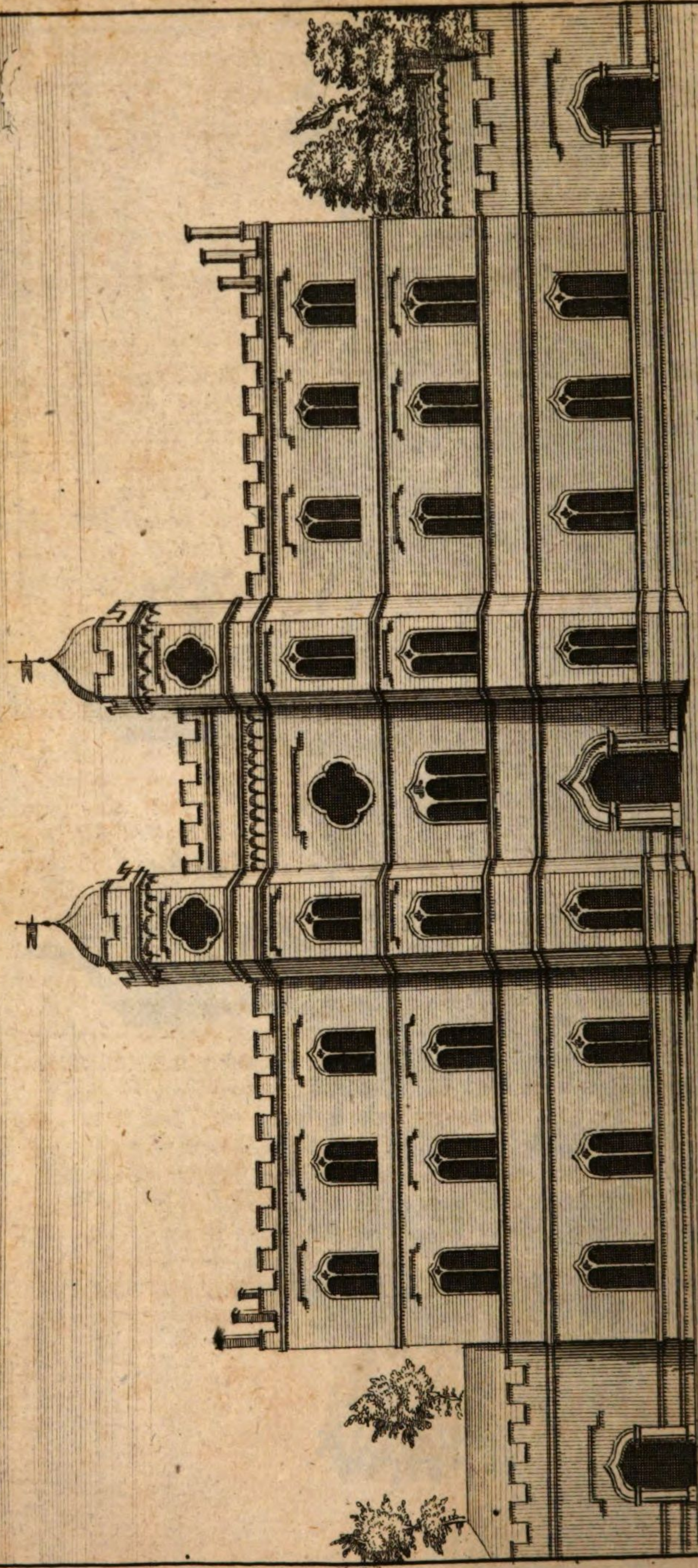
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* Herein we cannot agree with Mr. *Salmon*, because it was but a very inconsiderable Party that appeared against him, as is evident by the Names subscribed to the Articles.

THE EAST FRONT.



THE WEST FRONT



To the Right Honourable Henry Earl of Lincoln, -
(These VIEWS are humbly inscribed, by his LORDSHIP'S
most Dutiful Servant, -

The next Day Judge *Shelley* * was sent to *Essex* to demand, in his Majesty's Name, the Surrender of *York-house*, producing a Deed of Resignation, which the Cardinal was desired to sign. This Demand very much moved the Cardinal; and he alledged, "That, as *York-house* † belonged to his See, it was
Judge Shelley demands for the King York-place.
“ not

* From one of this Judge's Family Sir *John Shelley*, Bart. is descended. See *English Baronetage*.

† When the King was thus possessed of this magnificent Palace, he caused to be erected a stately Mansion at *St. James's*, and, for the Service of it as well as for that of *York-place*, afterwards called *Whitehall*, inclosed a Spot of Ground, and converted it into a beautiful Park, which was no sooner accomplished, than he caused the present stately Gate near the Treasuries to be erected, to which he added a magnificent Gallery for the Accommodation of the Royal Family, Nobility, &c. to sit in to behold the several Justings, and other military Exercises, in the *Tilt-yard*, which was so denominated from the *Tiltings* therein practised.

Soon after *Henry* erected, for other Diversions, contiguous to the aforesaid Gate, a Tennis-court, Cock-pit, and Places to bowl in; the former of which only remains, the rest being converted into Dwelling-houses and Offices, for the Privy-council and Secretaries of State.

And the present stately and

magnificent Fabrick, called the Banqueting House, was erected by King *James* the 1st, being the only Part of his intended spacious Palace that was built, which, if it had been finished according to the Plan of the whole, would probably have excelled all the Edifices that are or ever were upon Earth. But the *Civil Wars* immediately ensuing put a Stop to the great Work, and left the Execution thereof to some succeeding magnanimous Prince to accomplish; but what was worse, at last it suffered the same Fate as the Old Palace at *Westminster* had done, being reduced to Ashes in the Reign of the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and has remained neglected ever since; only that our crowned Heads have made Grants of several Pieces of Ground, (whereon Cardinal *Wolsey's* Palace stood) to divers Noblemen, partly as a Reward for the Services they had done the Crown at different Times; and among other Persons of Quality, that have splendid Houses there now, are his Grace *Charles* D. of *Richmond*, his Grace *John* Duke of *Montagu*, and the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Pembroke*, &c.

“ not his to dispose of ; and told him, he hoped the
 “ Judges would not expose their Reputation, by putting
 “ his Majesty upon any illegal Methods ; but, if the
 “ King insisted upon it, let the Sin lie at his Door.”
 To this the Judge made Answer, “ That the King in-
 “ sisted upon it :” Whereupon the Cardinal signed the
 Deed ; and the Judge posted with it to Court. See
Cavendish's History.

The King quite mercenary. As soon as this Matter was settled the
 King, being determined to get all the
 Cardinal was possessed of into his Hands,
 sent him the following Letter.

“ *Most Rev. Father in God,*
 “ **R**IGHT Trusty and right Well-beloved, we
 “ greet you well, and send unto you, at this
 “ Time, by our trusty and well-beloved Chaplain,
 “ Dr. *Incent*, your Vicar-general, a Commission touch-
 “ ing the Gift of Benefices and Offices within your
 “ Diocese of *Winchester*, being, at our Denomination
 “ and Appointment, devised by our Council: Where-
 “ fore we will and desire you to subscribe the same
 “ Commission, and to seal it with your Seal ; and
 “ thereupon deliver the same to the said Vicar-ge-
 “ neral, which he shall use none otherwise, but ac-
 “ cording to our Commandment and Pleasure.

“ Given under our Signet, at our Manor of
 “ the *Moor*, the 29th Day of *March*.”

This Request *Wolsey* was obliged to comply with,
 and accordingly signed what the King demanded.

Madam Ann becomes the only Favourite. Madam *Ann* had got so far the As-
 scendant over the King, that nothing
 was now to be gained from him but
 through her Interposition ; yet the King
 himself had some Remorse in respect to his Proceed-
 ings against *Wolsey* ; for, after he had reduced him
 as low as he thought necessary to break his great Spi-
 rit,

rit, in order to make him some Amends, he would at times send him a comfortable Message; and Madam *Ann* too, at the King's Entreaty, after she had contributed all she could to ruin him, once sent the Cardinal a Present of a Tablet of Gold, that used to hang by her Side. This put *Wolsey* upon thinking, that some Service might be done him, through the Interposition of this Lady; therefore he writ not only to her, but to *Cromwell*; and, in his Letter to that Gentleman, intreats him to solicit the King to be gracious unto him, and to practise so as that the Lady *Ann* might mediate for him. *Cromwell*, in Answer to the Cardinal's Letter, says, "Mr. *Page* delivered the Letter
" to the Lady *Ann*, but there is yet no Answer: She
" gives kind Words, but will not promise to speak
" to the King for you." And, in another Letter to a third Person, *Cromwell* writes, "None dare speak
" to the King on the Cardinal's Part, for fear of
" Madam *Ann*'s Displeasure."

After he found himself deceived, and that there was a further Intention of depriving him of the Revenues of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, the Cardinal said, *God be my Judge, I never thought, and so I was assured at the making of my Submission, to depart from any of my Promotions for the Rigour of the Law; for any Offence that can be attested against me deserveth no such Punishment, and so, trusting to the King's Goodness, I am come to this Point. I hope his Grace will consider the same accordingly. I have had fair Words, but little comfortable Deeds. Those Noblemen did otherwise promise to me, upon their Honour, upon the Trust whereof I made the frank Gift of my whole Estate.* The Cardinal further hints in a Letter, "That,
" when he submitted and made a free Gift of all
" that he had to the King, which he did at the Per-
" suasion of divers Noblemen, it was promised him,

The Cardinal reflects on his Disappointment.

“ that the King would make an Order for the Payment
 “ of his Debts, and Maintenance of his Estate; yet
 “ now he is in great Want of Relief.”

Still receives He still received frequent Messages
Messages from from the Court, but more of them af-
Court. flicting than consolatory, his Enemies

using all possible Artifices, having greatly reduced him, to crush him entirely. As the King had seized all his Estate and Effects, besides his Colleges both at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*, they laboured to prevail on him to convert these Colleges to some other Purpose, which was so sensible a Mortification to *Wolsey*, that he desires *Cromwell* to be a Friend to his Colleges, and not suffer the Lands, applied thereto, as well by the Pope's as the King's Assent, to be converted to profane

Cromwell's Uses. To this *Cromwell* answered, “ As
Letter to him. “ touching your Colleges the King is deter-
 “ mined to dissolve them, and that new

“ Offices should be found for all the Lands belonging
 “ to them, to intitle his Highness thereto, which he had
 “ already drawn for that Purpose; but whether his
 “ Highness, after the Dissolution of them, means to
 “ revive them again, and found them in his own
 “ Name, I know not; wherefore I entreat your Grace
 “ to be content, and let your Prince execute his Plea-
 “ sure.” *Wolsey*, taking the Suppressing and Dismem-
 bering of his Colleges very heavily, again earnestly sol-
 licited *Cromwell* to endeavour to prevent the making
 void what had been authentically confirmed by the great-
 est Authority on Earth, saying, “ If such a Thing was
 “ done, it would be against the Laws of God and
 “ Man.” And he did not stop here, for he wrote to the
 King on that Head, using these Expressions, “ I hum-
 “ bly, and on my Knees, recommend to your Grace's
 “ Charity and Goodness the poor College of Ox-
 “ ford:” And ordered, that this Letter should be
 presented to the King by the Dean and Canons of
 the said College; but it appears, that, notwithstanding
 these

these Applications, the King dissolved the Colleges, and that at *Ipswich* quite dropped, but the other the King founded a new, as is before-mentioned.

The Cardinal in his Prosperity, at great Expence, caused his Tomb to be prepared, which not being finished before his Adversity, *Antonio Cavallory*, a most exquisite Workman employed about it, writes thus to him, “ That for
“ gilding that Part of his Tomb, already done, being
“ the Half, he had laid out 380*l.* 13*s.* and there-
“ fore desires to know his Pleasure, whether he meant to
“ have the rest of his Tomb perfected; because, if he
“ did not so mean, he desired the Cardinal’s Leave, that
“ the Gilder might go Home to *Antwerp*, and that
“ the Carver might have the like Leave to return to
“ *Italy*.” But, it seems, the King seized the * Tomb likewise, which made the Cardinal afterwards desire to have it restored to him, to the Intent that he might order and dispose the same for his Burial, *which is likely*, (said he) *by reason of my Heaviness, to be shortly*. Yet it seems this Request was denied him, as well as that of Money to pay his Debts.

The King seizes the Cardinal’s Tomb.

The Cardinal, being now fully satisfied of the Designs his Enemies had on his Life, used all wise and necessary Precautions, in order to frustrate them, and armed himself with so much Patience, that they could not provoke him either to say or do any Thing that might justly render him obnoxious. However, being stript of his vast Fortune, and the Prospect of being yet more slighted, tho’ undeservedly, making deep Impressions on his Spirits, he fell into a dangerous Sickness much about the Time he wrote the Letter we have just mentioned to *Cromwell*, the King began now to relent, and Dr. *Butts* was by his Order sent to attend him, who found him
extreamly

The Cardinal’s Patience.

* As his Majesty had stript him of his very *Robes*, while *living*, he doubtless thought a needless *Covering*, when *dead*, would be unnecessary, as a fine Tomb or Monument might be deemed.

extreamly ill. Upon his Return to Court he reported,
 “ That, if the Cardinal did not receive Comfort from
 “ his Majesty, he would within four Days be a dead
 “ Man.” When the King made Answer, “ God for-
 “ bid, that he should die, for I would not lose him
 “ for 20,000 *l.* I pray you go to him, and do your
 “ best Care to him.” Upon which, Dr. *Butts* advising
 the King to send some Gracious Message to him,
 his Majesty took a Ring from his Finger, charged
 with a Ruby, upon which his own Picture was en-
 graved, commanding the Doctor to deliver it to him,
 and withal to acquaint him, *That he was not in his*
*Heart * offended with him for any Thing*, using o-
 ther Expressions which discovered a friendly and
 tender Concern for him ; and the Lady *Ann*, at the
 King’s Request, also sent him Tokens of Favour. Upon
 receiving them, the Cardinal too easily apprehended
 the King and his Lady were seeking a Reconciliation
 with him ; and soon after he was in a good Way of
 Recovery.

The King grants
Wolsey a Par-
don.

The King about *Candlemas* was
 pleased to grant the Cardinal a full and
 general Pardon. *Rapin* says, “ Among
 “ all the Pardons in the publick Acts,
 “ there are none so full and particular as this, which
 “ was done in order to relieve the Cardinal in some
 “ measure from the Anxiety he had been under from
 “ *October* to that Time, before his Pardon, he well
 “ knowing, that he was subject to the Penalty of
 “ perpetual Imprisonment, which seemed to him to
 “ be equal, if not greater, than any Loss he had yet
 “ sustained.”

This Pardon was drawn so full as to take in the
 highest Articles charged on him ; and that it was
 penned with the utmost Advantage and Strength of
 Law may be further proved from Sir *Edward Coke*’s
 Authority, which take in his own Words.

“ The

* Then he had a very evil and ungrateful one.

“ The most *learned* * and beneficial Pardons, which
 “ we have read, or do remember, were that to *Wil-*
 “ *liam Wickham*, Bishop of *Winchester*, (for good Men
 “ will never refuse God and the King’s Pardon, be-
 “ cause every Man does often offend both of them)
 “ and the other to *Thomas Wolsey*, Cardinal, which are
 “ learnedly and largely penned.”

Now the King gave him further Marks of his
 Friendship, and promised to restore to him the whole
 Revenues of the Archbishoprick of *York*; and at the
 same time sent him some rich Furniture for his House
 and Chapel.

After

* Articuli Pardonationis Reve-
 rendissimi Patris THOMÆ, Car-
 dinalis, &c. 21 Hen. VIII.
 Feb. 12. †

*Omnimodæ Proditiones tam ma-
 jores quam minores; Proditio-
 num Mesprisiones & aliæ Mes-
 prisiones;*

*Legum subversiones, & earum illi-
 citæ Extensiones;*

Outlagarum quæcunque;

*Intrusiones & ingressus in tempo-
 ralia Archiepiscopatum, Episco-
 patum, Abbatiarum, Priora-
 tum, sive aliarum Domorum
 Religiosarum, infra Regnum An-
 glie;*

*Provisiones Bullarum circa Exe-
 cutionem Officii Legationis de
 Latere, contra formam Statuti
 de provisoribus.*

*Concesso quod præfatus THOMAS
 Cardinalis omni pardonatione &
 gratia gaudeat, populo Regni
 ANGLIÆ in aliquo parliamen-
 to concessa;*

*Donatio Archiepiscopatus EBORA-
 CENSIS cum pertinentiis.*

* *The Articles in Cardinal WOL-
 SEY’s Pardon, 21 Hen. VIII.
 Feb. 12.*

All manner of Treasons or Trea-
 cheries, as well High as Petty
 Misprisons of Treason, and o-
 ther Misprisons;

Subversions of the Laws, and il-
 legal Extensions thereof;

All Outlawries;

Intrusions and Invasions on the
 Temporalities of Archbishop-
 ricks, Bishopricks, Abbeyes,
 Priories, or other Religious
 Houses, within the Kingdom
 of England;

Procuring Bulls relating to the
 Execution of the Legatine Of-
 fice, contrary to the Form of
 the Statute of Provisors.

That the said Cardinal, *Thomas*,
 may enjoy all manner of Par-
 dons and Graces, granted to
 the People of the Kingdom of
 England in any Parliament;

A Grant of the Archbishoprick of
 YORK with its Appurtenances.

*Another Letter
from Cromwell
to the Cardinal.*

After the Cardinal had obtained this Pardon, and other Marks of Favour from the King, *Cromwell* writ a Letter to him, wherein he says, “ Touching the Proceſs
“ againſt your Grace out of the *Exchequer*, and all
“ other Matters and Suits brought againſt you, I
“ have pleaded your Pardon, which is allowed in
“ all the King’s Courts, and by the ſame your Grace
“ is diſcharged of all manner of Cauſes at the King’s
“ Suit.”

*His Complaint
in his Letters
to Cromwell.*

Wolſey ſoon after writ, “ That he
“ hoped the King, to whom I have
“ given all my Goods and Revenues,
“ will pay my Debts, which may be
“ done by the Arrears of my Penſion out of *France* for
“ the Year by paſt.” But we do not find much heed was given to this Letter, except that ſoon after the King was pleaſed to ſend him four Loads more of rich Furniture unknown to the Lords of the Council: (So that the Reader may eaſily gueſs the Condition *Wolſey* was in, from *October* to the time he received the firſt Supply.) This Preſent was very acceptable to him; and in a ſhort time he writ again to *Cromwell*, and tells him, “ My Fever is ſomewhat aſ-
“ ſuaged, and the black Humour alſo; howbeit I am
“ entering into the Kalends of a more dangerous Sick-
“ neſs, which is the Dropſy; ſo that, if I am not
“ removed into a drier Air, and that ſhortly, there
“ is little Hope.” This had the deſired Effect; for, on Application, the King permitted *Wolſey* to remove to *Richmond*, and alſo ſent him ſome Money.

*His Enemies
alarmed at
the Favours
ſhewn him.*

The Favours, which had been lately ſhewn to his Eminence, greatly alarmed his Enemies; and, as he was ſo near the Court, they likewise feared his Maſteſty might, on one Occaſion or other, be moved to viſit, or perhaps re-call him; therefore they ſollicited the King to ſend him down to his Province in the *North*,
con-

concealing the true Reason of their Application, (as is usual with Ministers, who would cover their private Designs under the Umbrage of publick Good) but pretending, that his Presence would be necessary towards composing certain Animosities in that Country. The King, upon this specious Suggestion, consented to the Proposal, and *Cromwell* was commanded, by the Duke of *Norfolk*, to acquaint his Master, that he must think of repairing to his Charge at *York*.

This Message the Cardinal did not relish; however, as he found his Residence at *Richmond* was disagreeable to the Courtiers, he offered to remove to *Winchester*: But this did not give Content to the Duke of *Norfolk* and his other Enemies; for *Wolsey* received for Answer, that he must immediately prepare for his setting out into the *North*. Upon this several Petitions were preferred to the King to allow him Part of the Revenues of *Winchester* and *St. Albans*, and other Matters, in order to enable him to proceed on his Journey, which were promised him.

Wolsey prepares to proceed to York.

There are now in Being, Letters from the Cardinal to his Steward, *Robert Brown* at *Southwell*, wherein his Grace takes notice, that shortly he intended to set out for his Seat there, and therefore orders him to see the House compleatly fitted up, and to buy in Corn, ready to make Bread for the Family.

Writes to his Steward.

Brown answered, as appears from a Letter in the *Exchequer Record-office*, to this Effect, "That Mr. *Holgil*, the Surveyor, " had covered the House in, and done other Matters; but, as to himself, he was grown old, and did " not now understand buying of Corn." From the wording of the Letter it appears but too plain, that, as his Master's Affairs were in a very unhappy Situation, he did not care to trust him.

The Steward's Answer.

*The Church
Historian's
Observations.*

The Church Historian, upon the Cardinal's being commanded to retire to his See of *York*, and his preparing for that Purpose, speaks thus, "The whole Affair was managed by Mr. *Cromwell*, who, as he was a Person of great natural Parts, so now he began to have a considerable Power and Interest; for the Revenues of the two Colleges, consisting of the Spoils of a great Number of Monasteries, committed to his Care * both before and after they were confiscated by his Master's Delinquency, it was in his Power to shew Favour to all Degrees of Persons, whose Concerns were intermixt with the Abbey Lands. This Occurrence may be looked upon as the first large Step towards this great Statesman's Preferment, for every Day his Capacity became more and more known to the King; and he had learnt from the Cardinal how to ingratiate himself with the King, which was by punctually complying with his Will, † though to the Injury of his Conscience; and as they rose by the same Method, so they were alike Instances of King *Henry's* Ingratitude by their Fall."

Though the King had consented to the Cardinal's Removal to *York*, yet, no Time being fixed, he delayed his Departure, which so provoked the Duke of *Norfolk*, that, sending for *Cromwell*, he said to him in a great Rage, *Go, and tell thy Master, that, unless he quickly remove towards the North, I will tear him in Pieces with my Teeth.* When the Cardinal was informed how the Duke resented it, he said, *It is high time for me to think of moving:* But Money being necessary for such a Journey, he dispatches *Cromwell* to the King for

* Here the Gentleman is mistaken, for *Cromwell* did not come into the Cardinal's Service till after these Monasteries were given to *Wolsey* for the Uses he afterwards appropriated them to; nor had *Cromwell* any thing to

do with the Cardinal's College at *Oxford* until after his Master's Disgrace.

† We also deny, that *Cromwell* was taught this by *Wolsey*. There was a wide Difference too in the Manner of their Rising.

for a Supply, as also to acquaint him, that the Want thereof had been the Occasion of his Delay.

In the mean time he removed from the Lodge at *Richmond* to a Monastery of *Carthusian* Monks at *Shene*, near that Place.

Wolsey retires to a Monastery.

He took up his Lodging in an Apartment built by *Dr. Colet*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, whither that excellent Man retired to end his Days. While the Cardinal remained at *Shene* he applied himself carefully to the main Concern of his Salvation: He visited the Church every Morning, in the Afternoon he conferred with some religious Monk that was most remarkable for Piety: He put on a Hair Shirt, and in other Respects conformed to the Rules of a *Monastick*.

Mr. Cromwell all this while was employed in making Preparations for his Master's Journey, and, having received a Sum of Money, by Order of the Council, as also a handsome Present from the King, who still gave *Wolsey* repeated Assurances of Friend-

ship, his setting out was fixed for *Passion Week*. The first Day he arrived at *Hen-*

He sets out to his Charge at York.

don, a Seat belonging to the Abbot of *Westminster*; the next Day he came to *Rye*, a House of *Lady Parry's*; from thence to *Royston*, where he lodged in the Priory; the following Stage was to the Abbey in *Huntingdon*; from hence next Day he arrived at the Abbey of *Peterborough*. [His Manner of spending the Holy Week *Cavendish* relates, to whom we refer.] The Monday Night following he took up his Lodging at *William Fitz-williams*, * Esq; formerly one of his trusty Domesticks; and from thence he went to *Stamford*, and the next Day to *Grantbam*, where he lodged at the

U u 2

House

* A Mile and Half from *Peterborough*. From a Branch of this grateful Gentleman's Family we understand the present Right Hon. Lord Viscount *Fitz-williams* is descended; who was lately married to Mrs. *Catherine Decker*, eldest Daughter of the Worthy and Hon. Sir *Matthew Decker*, Bart.

House of one Mr. *Hall* ; the next Night he lodged at
Arrives at his Newark-castle, and the Day following pro-
Seat at ceeded to his Seat at *Southwell*. He found
Southwell. it in a bad Condition ; nor was himself

and Family like to be in a much better State ; for his
 old Steward had taken no care to lay in Provisions
 for them, which made others also unwilling at first
 to supply the Cardinal without being paid ready Mo-
 ney, in regard he was a Stranger in those Parts ; and
 this had still a further Issue, as one Misfortune sel-
 dom comes alone, those to whom he owed Money were
 very importunate to be paid, as appears
His Letter by a Letter from him to the King, now
to the King. likewise to be seen in the *Exchequer Re-*
cord-office.

After prefacing it with very great Observance
 and Respect, he says, “ The 1000 Marks assign-
 “ ed me, for the Maintenance of me and my poor
 “ Folks, out of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, is gone
 “ and spent. I have neither Corn, nor Cattle, nor
 “ any other Thing to keep House with, nor know
 “ where to borrow any Thing in these Parts. My
 “ Houses are, by the Oversight and evil Behaviour of
 “ such as I did trust, despoiled, run to Ruin and De-
 “ cay, as well in the Roofs as in the Floors, being
 “ ready to fall down.

“ My Creditors, to whom I am indebted, cry daily
 “ and importunately for Payment, not having where-
 “ with to content them. Thus am I most pitiful,
 “ Sovereign Lord, wrapped in Misery and extream
 “ Need on every Side, not knowing where to be se-
 “ cured or relieved, but only at your Highness’s most
 “ charitable and merciful Hand. The great Virtue,
 “ Nobleness, Pity, Compassion, and Charity, that I
 “ have always known to be in your most noble
 “ Heart, with firm Belief that I have, and ever had,
 “ that you would not suffer your poor Creature,
 “ (whom you made of Nought) to perish for Lack,
 “ who

“ who has so entirely loved and served your High-
 “ nefs, embolden me to recur unto your excellent
 “ Goodness for some Comfort and Relief, most
 “ humbly prostituting at your Feet, beseeching your
 “ Royal Majesty’s Benignity to consider the Premises,
 “ and to have Pity and Compassion on your poor
 “ Cardinal, who is, and shall be, during his Life,
 “ your faithful and most obedient Creature, daily
 “ Beadsman and Slave, as our Lord knoweth ; to
 “ whom I shall incessantly pray for the Continuance
 “ of your most noble and royal Estate.” *

It is evident, that this submissive Letter had some Effect ; for the Cardinal soon after received a Supply of Money and other Things, that enabled him to provide for his Family, pay some of his Creditors, repair his House, and get rid of his ungrateful Steward. At this Place he continued the greatest Part of the Summer, where his Behaviour, even according, to his Enemies Account, was noble and edifying he being constantly visited by the Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, and many of the Nobility, who had Occasion to pass near him, kindly entertained ; for, as the Revenues of his Archbishoprick now began to come in, he was enabled to keep a good House ; and did daily distribute at his Gates great Quantities of Provisions to the Poor : Those that had lived several Years at Variance were reconciled by his Mediation ; his Tenants he treated with great Humanity, and they in Return extolled him as a kind Landlord.

*The King
sends him a
Supply of Mo-
ney.*

*Spends his
Time commen-
dably.*

About the latter End of Summer he removed from
 South-

* We would not have our Reader mistake, by placing the submissive Terms, used by the Cardinal in this Letter, to any Abjectness of Spirit in him, which were only consistent to the Language used in his Time, as appears from the Letters now preserved in the *Exchequer Record-office*, and elsewhere.

*Arrives at
Scrooby.*

Southwell to *Scrooby*, another Place in his own Diocess, where he remained till almost *Michaelmas*, and gave there the same Satisfaction both to the Rich and Poor; for his Custom was to visit the little Parish Churches, and one of his Chaplains generally preached; and sometimes he condescended to dine at an honest Farmer's House, where he was commonly furrounded by a great Number of Poor, whom he frequently conversed with and relieved; by which Means he reminded his Clergy of a very material Part of their Duty.

At Cawood.

Two Days before *Michaelmas* he arrived at *Cawood-castle*, an antient Palace belonging to his See, within a few Miles of *York*, which he found not in so good Repair as he could wish. This induced him to Cause it to be re-edified, in which he employed at one Time 300 Artificers and Labourers, and at the same time continued his usual Hospitality: Yet these good Qualities were misconstrued by his Enemies about the Court, and imputed to him as Crimes; however, at *Cawood* he likewise soon acquired much Honour, Love, and Esteem from most Persons of every Distinction.

*Mr. Smythe's
Transactions
on the Cardi-
nal's Behalf.*

Robert Smythe, one of the Cardinal's Stewards, being intrusted, in his Absence from *London*, with some Matters of consequence, kept a close Correspondence with his Master, and faithfully discharged his Trust, as appears from many Letters that passed between them, * one of which we have here

* ' **P**lease your Grace to understand, that I have delivered your Letters to Master *Norris*, and Master *Hennage*, which I had no Answer of as yet; but Master *Hennage* said, He

' would to God that your Grace, would content yourself with that you have, and there is no doubt but that the King will be good and gracious to your Grace. He further said, that your Grace maketh

here introduced, as well as * one transcribed from the Original, now extant in the *Exchequer Record*.

‘ maketh much more Building
‘ there than you do, because you
‘ have Men from London. We
‘ say, No: Yet we cannot be be-
‘ lieved in that Matter. And al-
‘ so you are spoke of, because
‘ your Grace should take Ma-
‘ ster *Doddington* to be Steward;
‘ for it is said, *That he is not be-*
‘ *loved in that Country.* I made
‘ answer, *That he had never had*
‘ *the Staff in his Hand.* Also
‘ you are spoke of, that your
‘ Grace should give away an Of-
‘ fice that you had granted to
‘ Master *Edwards.* I said, *It was*
‘ *not so, that ever I heard of.*
‘ Master *Stubbs* says, *That he*
‘ *hath no Money for your Grace,*
‘ *as he hath made answer to*
‘ *Master Cromwell.* As yet he
‘ is at *Kingston*; at his coming
‘ to *London* he will provide a
‘ Piece of *Baudkin*, or Cloth of
‘ Gold. Also Master *Eston* says,
‘ *That your Grace shall have*
‘ *no Wine of him this Year.*
‘ Also Master *Amyda* says, *He*
‘ *has no Plate for your Grace as*
‘ *yet*; but I perceive, from
‘ what he says, he will deliver
‘ none, unless your Grace send
‘ him old Plate. And also, as
‘ soon as here is any Ship from
‘ *Hull*, your Grace shall have
‘ *Quails* sent you. Other News
‘ here is, one *Henry Man* speaks
‘ much Honour of your Grace,
‘ in ordering yourself among the
‘ Gentlemen in the Country. I
‘ have made your Recommenda-
‘ tion to all that your Grace
‘ commanded me, with many

‘ more that heartily asked for
‘ your Grace. Master *Treasurer*,
‘ Master *Comptroller*, Master *Se-*
‘ *cretary*, and the most part of
‘ the Gentlemen in the Court,
‘ when they saw me, came to
‘ know how your Grace does,
‘ and was right glad to hear of
‘ the Behaviour of your Grace.
‘ Master *Alward* is at *Ipswich*,
‘ but he hath made Answer for
‘ your Chapel-book to Master
‘ *Cromwell*: And as for more
‘ Books we cannot get of Ma-
‘ ster *Stubbs.* He says, *He is in*
‘ *Premunire, and cannot tell how*
‘ *he shall do.* The King’s High-
‘ ness hath given, to Master *Se-*
‘ *cretary*, *Halfword* Term of his
‘ Life. The King is at *Windsor*;
‘ how long he shall tarry there
‘ I cannot tell. Thus Almight-
‘ ty God preserve your Grace
‘ in good Health, and long Life,
‘ to his Pleasure. At *London*, the
‘ 10th Day of *June*, by your
‘ true and faithful Steward,

‘ ROBERT SMYTHE.’

Endorsed, ‘ To my Lord Car-
‘ dinal’s good Grace.’

* ‘ PLEASETH your Grace
‘ to understand, that I
‘ have made search in the City,
‘ and also caused *Stephen Samble*,
‘ and *Thomas Yonge*, your old
‘ Servants and Workmen, as well
‘ as others of my Friends, to
‘ make search for Cloths of
‘ *Baudkin*, or Cloths of Gold,
‘ and we do find the City desti-
‘ tute of such Stuff, partly by
‘ rea-

cord-office, from Mr. *Lawrence Stubbs*, another of the Cardinal's faithful Friends, and the Gentleman mentioned in Mr. *Smythe's* Letter.

Desires Cromwell to come to him.

The Cardinal still continued to keep a close Correspondence with his faithful Servant and Friend, *Cromwell*, and, as he was settled at *Carwood*, he required him to come thither, that they might transact some Affairs together, which were not proper to be communicated in Writing ; and at the same time familiarly gives him an Account how he passed his Time, and what Satisfaction he took therein. To this *Cromwell* answered, by a respectful Letter, which is preserved in the *Exchequer Record-office*.

Cromwell's Answer.

In the first Part he gives his Master an Account what was said of him at Court, and speaks of his Retirement in the following Words.

“ Your

‘ reason of your late great occupying thereof, and partly because the King's Highness hath since taken much of the same kind ; and also for that *Florence* and the Country thereabouts, from whence such Cloths come, doth not, as Merchants say, make such Stuff ; but do now occupy themselves more in War than in Merchandize. I beseech your Grace take this for no Delay in me, for, though I be a Priest of small Lands, and Promotions, and a poor Man, daily sustaining great Charges by abiding here at *Westminster*, in the King's Buildings, and also am at great Cost in defending myself in an Action of *Premunire*, and other-

‘ wise, yet I shall not fail to purchase for your Grace the said Cloths, though I should for the Payment thereof lay to pledge and sell all the Plate I have. Since your Grace has been in Trouble, I have sold Lands to the yearly Value of 8l. and spent the Money. Your Grace shall ever have me a true and faithful Servant to you, and daily Orator, as knoweth the *Holy Trinity*, who have your Grace in his blessed Tuition. Written at *Westminster*, the 1st Day of *July*.

‘ Your most humble Servant, and Orator,

‘ LAWRENCE STUBBS.†
‘ *Westminster*, the
‘ 1st Day of *July*.’

† This Gentleman was President of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, and owed his Preferment to the Cardinal.

“ Your Grace is right happy, that you are now
 “ at Liberty to serve God in your own Way, not
 “ doubting but you have learnt by Experience, to
 “ banish and exile the *vain* Desires of this unstable
 “ World, that does nothing but allure every Per-
 “ son therein, especially such as God has most en-
 “ dued with the greatest Gifts, &c. Wherefore, your
 “ Grace being as you *are*, I judge you would not
 “ be as as you *were* for a hundred times as much
 “ as you were possessed of.” Then he gives him a
 Relation of what was transacting both at Home and
 Abroad, and concludes with assuring his Master,
 “ That he would render him all the Service he pos-
 “ sibly could during the Remainder of his Life ;”
 but excuses himself from coming down to him, for
 that his Affairs would not permit him, and con-
 ceived he was much more capable of serving him
 by staying at *London*, than if he was with him.

The Cardinal received this Letter ve-
 ry kindly, yet at times he expressed
 some Uneasiness at his not coming to
 him : On the other Hand there were
 not wanting Persons about the Court, who not only
 invidiously represented the Cardinal's publick and
 generous Actions, but, as they saw with Envy the
 Friendship that subsisted between him and *Cromwell*,
 they likewise earnestly endeavoured to break it, as ap-
 pears from what *Cromwell* tells his Master in another
 Letter.

*The Cardinal's
 Enemies busy in
 hurting him.*

“ That his modest Behaviour and
 “ Humanity had gained him the Love
 “ and good Respect of the Country, where he liv-
 “ ed, as well as in the Court ; but your Enemies *
 “ deprave all. Sir, some there be that do alledge, your
 “ Grace keeps too great a House and Family, and
 “ that you are continually building ; for the Love of
 “ God therefore have respect and refrain.

*Cromwell's
 Letter to him.*

“ I am informed your Grace hath me in some Dif-
 “ fidence, as if I did dissemble with you, or procure
 “ any Thing contrary to your Profit and Honour ; I
 “ much muse that your Grace should think or sus-
 “ pect it secretly, considering the Pains I have taken :
 “ Wherefore I desire you to speak without feign-
 “ ing, if you have such Conceit, that I may clear
 “ myself. I reckoned that your Grace would have
 “ written plainly to me of such Things, rather than
 “ secretly to have misreported me ; but I shall bear
 “ your Grace no less Good-will. Let God judge be-
 “ tween us ! Truly, your Grace something over-shoot-
 “ eth yourself ; there is Regard to be given to what
 “ Things you utter, and to whom.”

It appears from this Letter that *Cromwell* kept certain Scholars in *Cambridge* ; for he concludes with entreating the Cardinal to prefer them to Benefices that should fall in his Archbishoprick.

His Answer.

The Cardinal immediately answered it.
 Tho' *Cromwell* was full pert in his Letter
 “ I suspect not, says he, and that may appear
 “ by my Deeds, for I use no Man's Help nor Coun-
 “ sel but yours. Complaint, indeed, has been made,
 “ that *Cromwell* has not done me so good Offices as
 “ he might, concerning my Colleges and Archbi-
 “ shoprick, but I have not believed them. It's true,
 “ I have asked of our common Friends, How *Crom-*
 “ *well* hath behaved towards me ? and, to my great
 “ Comfort, have found you faithful : Therefore I
 “ beseech you to continue steadfast, and give no Cre-
 “ dit to the false Suggestions of such as would make a
 “ Variance between us, and by that Means leave me
 “ destitute of all Help.” This Letter had the de-
 sired Effect, for they were thoroughly satisfied with
 each other.

*The King seeks
 to bring Wolsey
 into his Views.*

During the Time that the Cardinal re-
 sided at *Carwood*, several Applications were
 made to him, as well by Promising as
 Threat-

Threatning, to prevail on him to aid in concluding the Affair of the Divorce according to the King's Mind, without having any Regard to the Orders of the Court of *Rome*: But, he positively refused to intermeddle any further in the Affair. Therefore his Majesty finding him inflexible, determined his entire Ruin.

This the Cardinal was not yet acquainted with, therefore he continued to employ his Time agreeable to his Function, and was now attended by the Clergy of the Cathedral Church of *York*, as was their Duty, he being their chief Head, who received them after a Manner agreeable to their sacred Relation, to whom he declared, "The most special Cause of his Coming was to be among them, as a Father and a natural Brother." This kind Treatment was most dutifully received, and, after communing with his Grace, they begged, that he would come to the Cathedral at *York* to be installed, according to the Custom of his Predecessors. This he took time to consider of, and at last consented to it; but insisted, "It should be done without that great Shew and Pomp practised by his Predecessors, because the Misfortunes he had met with had sufficiently weaned him from the Grandeur of the World."

The Clergy of York attend the Cardinal.

The *Monday* next after *All Saints* Day was appointed for his Installment, and, contrary to the Cardinal's Knowledge or Intentions, great Preparations were made at *York*, in order to receive him into that City agreeable to his high Dignity; and the Abbots, Priors, and neighbouring Gentlemen of the Country, sent in all Sorts of Provisions; so that the Week before the intended Ceremony, every Thing was got ready for his Reception; but the *Sunday* preceding an Accident happened, which gave the Cardinal some Uneasiness. Being at Dinner, surrounded

Prepares for his Installment at York.

with his Chaplains and the rest of his Attendants, one Dr. *Augustine*, a *Physician*, cloathed with a heavy Velvet Gown, in arising from Table, pushed against the Cardinal's Silver Cross, placed at the Corner of the Table, which, pitching upon Dr. *Bonner's* Head, who was one of his Chaplains, fell so heavy, that the Blood came trickling down the Doctor's Shoulder. The Cardinal, being startled at the Accident, immediately rose up, and retired to his Chamber, and, shaking his Head, said, *I do*

An ill Omen. *not like this Omen.* *

It was observed afterwards, *That, about the same Hour* as this happened at Cawood, Sir Walter *Walsh sets out* for the North. *Walsh, a Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber, set out from Court to attend the Lord Piercy, who was become Earl of Northumberland upon his Father's Death, and they were directed jointly to arrest him upon a new Accusation of High Treason:* This Matter was acted so privately, that neither Mr. *Cromwell*, nor any other of the Cardinal's particular Friends, had the least Intelligence of it.

Walsh, upon his Arrival in the North, communicated his Instructions to the Earl of Northumberland, who very readily accepted of this unthankful Office,† and

* This he expounded in the following Manner:

The Cross represented his Person; Dr. Augustine, who threw it down, he suspected to be one of his Enemies, and an Informer; Dr. Bonner's (the Master of his Faculties) being wounded imported, that his Power was at an End, and that Death would quickly ensue.

† We can with Pleasure say, that in our Time we had as noble an Instance of a contrary Conduct in an honourable Gentleman now in high Station, when an Impeachment was exhibited in Parliament against a noble Lord, and a Chancellor too, on a Charge of *High Crimes and Misdemeanours*,

who, among other Members of the House of Commons, was appointed to be one of the Managers to carry on the Prosecution; but, instead of eagerly accepting the Trust, publicly declared the great Obligations he was under to the unhappy Lord, and begged Leave to decline it; being, doubtless, rather under a Concern, that there was any Occasion for an Enquiry of that Sort, than officious to be concerned in it. An Example most worthy of Imitation, and which we hope will not soon be forgotten; and that it might not be so was the Chief Motive of our making this Memento.

and thereupon the Earl and Sir *Walter* repaired to *Carwood* to put their Orders in Execution : This they did with such Secrecy, that no one had the least Suspicion of it, and they came to the Cardinal's Seat the *Friday* before the intended Installment, attended by several Horsemen with Fire Arms.

The Earl and Sir *Walter* on their Arrival first went into the Hall, and demanded the Keys of the Palace from the Porter, who refusing to deliver them without his Master's Order, to prevent any further Disturbance, they contented themselves with taking a Promise upon Oath, from the faithful Porter that no Person should go out or come in at the Gates until he received further Orders ; the Cardinal all this while being ignorant of what passed below, Care being taken that no one should go up to inform him ; but at last one of the Servants found Means to acquaint his Master, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was in the Hall, who, *harmlessly* taking it to be only a friendly Visit, immediately rose from the Table, and, meeting on the Stairs, they mutually embraced ; but the *ungrateful guilty* Earl trembling said, **I ARREST YOU OF HIGH TREASON.** * Upon this the Cardinal demanded to see his Authority, for he could not at first be persuaded, that a Nobleman, who had been so

Earl of Northumberland arrests Wolsey of High Treason.

kindly

* This base Transaction shews what Height of Rancour reigned in the Hearts of his embittered Foes, and the Meanness of Soul they had reduced *Henry* the VIIIth too, especially when we consider that this worthy Prelate was peaceably retired to serve his God and Flock, from the vain Poms and Deceits of a most corrupted fallen Court, and troubled not his Head with any of their Affairs ; yet even here his En-

mies could not help envying his Happiness, for the Repose of this inoffensive Man, forsooth, they must disturb, and what than, arrest and take him into Custody upon no less a Charge than High Treason, although the King had no longer than the Month of *February* before granted him as ample and full Pardon, for all supposed Crimes, which Lord *Coke* admits, was penned as learnedly and largely as the Wit of Man

kindly used by him, and educated in his Family, could have been prevailed on to go on such a sleeveless Errand. The Earl refusing to shew his Commission, the Cardinal with great Presence of Mind replied, *I will not then submit to your Arrest*; and bid him stand at a Distance. But, whilst they were debating together Sir *Walter Walsh* entered the Room, whom the Cardinal knew, and, he repeating what the Earl had before said, his Eminence readily surrendered himself to him; for, as he was one of the Bed-chamber, he had Power, as it was then held, by a verbal Order only, to arrest the greatest Peer of the Realm.

Is in Custody. His Eminence being now in Custody, *Saturday* was spent in packing up some of his most valuable Effects, and preparing for his Journey; but, before he set out, the Earl left *Wolsey* in Custody of *Walsh*, and retired to his Seat.* And as soon as the Country People were informed of what the Earl had been doing, he was followed for some Miles by the Cries of the Poor, saying, *May the foul Evil overtake them that has taken him!* at the same Time others waiting about the Cardinal's Gate to take their mournful Farewel.

Sets out for London. On *Sunday* the 1st of *Nov.* early in the Morning, he proceeded on his Journey towards *London*. As soon as he came out of his Gate the

Man could devise; in Fact, the Cardinal's noble and commendable Behaviour from the Time of his Retreat to the Arrest no way bespeaks Guilt; had it been otherwise, we are of Opinion, if he had given the Word to his Domesticks, and the Country about him, both the Earl and the Knight would have found it no easy Matter to have carried him away in Custody: But he was conscious of his own Inno-

cence, and therefore quietly submitted. O, happy is it for us, it is not so in our Days! How many great Men have we seen, who have given Disgust, or at least been disapproved of, that have been suffered not only to retire in Peace, but so to remain; nay, such has been the prevailing Prudence and Clemency, some of them have been recalled, and afterwards filled high Stations with great Applause.

* *Self condemned certainly.*

the People, with great Lamentations, expressed their Concern at being likely to lose so humane, so pious, so exemplary a Benefactor and Father; and with bitter Eclamations wished, *That a Judgment might attend those that were the Cause of his being taken away from them!* and thus they followed him for several Miles, until the Cardinal, with his usual Serenity, desired them to be patient, *for that he feared not his Enemies, but entirely submitted to the Will of Heaven.*

The first Night he lodged at Pomfret-
Abbey; the next night with the Black
Friars at Doncaster; and the Night fol-
 lowing at *Sheffield-park*, where he remained eighteen
 Days. Here he was kindly entertained by the Earl of
Shrewsbury, had great Respect shewn him by the
 neighbouring Gentlemen, who flocked in to visit him;
 and among others his very honourable and grateful
 Friend *William Fitz-williams, Esq;* paid his Respects
 to him, which gave his Eminence great Satisfaction.
 Whilst at *Sheffield*, the Cardinal was taken very ill one
 Day at Dinner, infomuch that he found a sudden Cold-
 ness at his Stomach, which instantly spread
 itself through his whole Body; and, as he
 apprehended it to be an Oppression occasioned by Wind,
 he immediately sent for something to expel it; when
 the Earl of *Shrewsbury* ordered his own *Apothecary**
 to prepare the Medicine, which gave him Ease, and,
 finding himself afterwards pretty well recovered, he
 retired to his Chamber.

*Arrives at
Pomfret.*

Is taken ill.

When *Cromwell* was informed, that his Master
 was taken into Custody, he expressed great Un-
 easiness, and spoke to the King in his Favour,
 who assured him, that, though he had caused him
 to be arrested at the Importunity of some of his
 Coun-

* Quere, Whether this Apo-
 thecary did not make some wil-
 ful Mistake in preparing the Me-
 dicine.

Council, he should be fairly heard before any Sentence should be passed on him, and in the mean time should be treated with the utmost Respect, and some few Days after his Majesty directed Mr. *Kingston* to repair to the Earl of *Shrewsbury's*, in order to receive the Cardinal into his Custody, and attend him to Town.

Mr. *Kingston*, upon his Coming to the Earl's Seat, was acquainted with the Condition the Cardinal was in ; therefore it was thought proper to defer Mr. *Kingston's* Waiting upon him till the next Day, and that the Earl should first let him know it in such a Manner as not to make him uneasy.

Accordingly, the next Day the Earl visited the Cardinal, who he found very ill with a violent Purg-

*The Earl of
Shrewsbury's
Concern for
him.*

ing : Nevertheless he told his Eminence,
“ That he was heartily sorry for his
“ Misfortunes ; that he had wrote to
the King in his Behalf, and would omit
“ nothing that lay in his Power to assist
“ him against his Enemies ; that he would have him
“ be of good Chear ; and that, as he had often wished
“ to appear before the King, he now seemed to have
“ an Opportunity, and he did not in the least ques-
“ tion but he would clear himself of the Accusations
“ against him :” Acquainting him also, “ That Mr.
“ *Kingston* was just arrived, attended with twenty-
“ four Horsemen, who had been his old Servants
“ and Attendants, in order to conduct him to *Lon-*
“ *don.*” The Cardinal at first expressed some Uneasi-

ness at mentioning *Kingston's* Name, because he was Lieutenant of the *Tower* ; but the Earl begged, “ He
“ would be under no particular Concern on that Ac-
“ count ; for he was sure *Kingston* was sent down
“ to serve him, and that he himself knew he was one

*Mr. Kingston
introduced.*

“ of his Friends.” Upon this his Emi-
“ nence replied, I should be glad to see
him,” and immediately Mr. *Kingston*
was introduced to him, where, after proper Sa-
luta-

utations on both Sides, Mr. *Kingston* assured him, in the King's Name, "That his Majesty had still an
 "entire Affection for him, but he could not help
 "bringing him to his Trial, such was the Importu-
 "nities of his Enemies, though the King did not
 "in the least question but he was able to clear him-
 "self, and would come off with Honour: That his
 "Orders were to permit him to set out for *London*,
 "when he thought proper, and to take what Time he
 "pleased upon his Journey." To this the Cardinal re-

plied, *I have a Distemper which will not
 permit me to make very much haste; how-
 ever, I will endeavour to be ready for the*

*The Cardi-
 nal's Reply.*

Journey to-morrow Morning. But the Purging was so
 violent upon him in the Night, that he had near 50
 Stools, which obliged him to remain there the

next Day. The Morning following he
 began his Journey, though very weak
 and full of Pain, and by gentle Pro-
 gress reached *Hardwicke-hall*, another Seat

*He leaves the
 Earl of
 Shrewsbury.*

belonging to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*; the next
 Day he arrived at *Nottingham*, his Distemper still
 increasing; and the Day following came to *Leices-*
ter-abbey, at which Time he could scarce sit on his

Mule. The Abbot and all the Convent received him
 honourably, and bid him welcome with great Re-
 verence: To whom he made only this short but mov-
 ing Speech, *Father Abbot, I am come to*

lay my Bones among you; and with great
 Difficulty he dismounted his Mule. Be-

*His Speech to
 the Abbot at
 Leicester.*

ing got to his Apartment he went to
 Bed, and with much Resignation he submitted to the
 Will of Heaven.

On *Monday* his Illness was so far increased, that
 he could not live long. On *Tuesday* Morning early
 Mr. *Kingston* went into his Room, and asked
 him, *How he had rested?* The Cardinal devoutly

*His dying
Words.*

answered, *I only wait the Pleasure of Heaven to render my poor Soul into the Hands of my Creator.* Upon which Mr. Kingston would have comforted him, but the Cardinal gave him to understand, *That he had himself some Knowledge in Physick, and that his Distemper being a Flux joined, with a continual Fever, it was impossible for Nature to hold out much longer, considering it had attended him eight Days, and, as he had not during that Time had any Ease, he expected nothing but a Dissolution.* Mr. Kingston on this intimated, that he feared he wanted Courage to withstand what he might expect. To this his Eminence replied, which Cavendish relates, concluding with these Expressions, *Mr. King-*

And Death.

ston, farewell, I can no more say, but I wish all Things to have good Success ; my Time draweth on fast. Having uttered these Words his Speech failed him, whereupon the Guards were called in to see him expire ; and about eight of the Clock he died, being assisted in his last Moments with the Prayers of the Abbot and the rest of the Convent ; and thus finished his Days this great Prelate and Statesman, November 29, 1530, being Sixty Years of Age, wanting four Months.

*Exposed to
Publick View,
tho' privately
buried.*

As soon as dead he was put into a Coffin, and the next Day laid with his Face uncovered, Liberty being given to all Persons to view him, in order to prevent false Reports, as to his not being really dead : But, if the Cardinal's Enemies will have it, that he had taken Poison, though there were no Symptoms of it, *It is most probable, (says the Author of the Church History, and Dr. Fiddes) that it was administred by some other Hand.*

After he had been publickly viewed for some time, and the Curiosity of the People sufficiently satisfied, he

he was, early in the Morning, on *St. Andrew's Day*, buried in the Middle of a Chapel at the Abbey in *Leicester*.

Since the Dissolution of the Abbey, even within these forty Years, great Pains have been taken to find whereabouts he was buried, several Parts of the Abbey has been dug, but to no Purpose, they having not been able to find his Bones.

*His Remains
searched af-
ter.*

Upon the Cardinal's being so privately buried Bishop *Corbet*, one of his College, gives us the following Lines.

*A Soliloque on
his private
Burial.*

*Search, find his Name, but there is none : O Kings !
Remember whence your Power and Vastness Springs.
If not, as Richard now, so may you be,
Who hath no Tomb but Scorn and Memory.
And, tho' from his Store WOLSEY might have
A Palace, or a College, for his Grave ;
Yet here he lies interr'd, as if that all
Of him to be remember'd was his Fall :
Nothing but Earth to Earth, no pompous Weight
Upon him, but a Pebble, or a Quait.
If thou'rt thus neglected, what shall we
Hope after Death, that are but Shreads of thee ?*

Polydor Virgil, the Cardinal's implacable Enemy, when he comes to speak of his Disgrace and End, delivers himself in the most extravagant Terms, contrary to the Attestation of those who attended him from his Adversity to his Death. *Rapin* and other Authors, who have danced after *Polydor's* Pipe, have not been much less virulent, and all this, truly, because he was not to be cajoled into that good Opinion of *Polydor* he so much laboured for, (after he obtained his Liberty) by writing one of the

*Observations
on Polydor Vir-
gil's Character
of Wolsey.*

most fawning Letters that ever was penned, nay, a very few Degree from Blasphemy, and therein fully acknowledging his Offence; which, wrote in *Latin* with *Polydor's* own Hand, is preserved in the *Exchequer Record-office*, a Translation whereof we have introduced.*

But

* *POLYDOR VIRGIL to Cardinal WOLSEY.*

To the most Reverend Lord, my God, the most worthy Cardinal of York.

MOST great and most rev. Pontiff, and most firm Pillar of the Church of God, humble Commendations: And I your Servant, who still am buried in the *Shadow of Death*, have heard of your extraordinary Fame, and with how much Applause of all Men your most rev. Lordship has been raised to the high Cardinalate Throne: So great is your Virtue, that you reflect more Lustre and Dignity on that supream Order, than you receive therefrom; I, among the rest, do rejoice, and am heartily pleased; but when it shall be lawful for me, in your Majesty's Presence, to *adore* you, then will my Soul be in Raptures with thee, O God of my Comfort! Most rev. Lord God of Forgiveness, God of Pity, at length extend your Mercy on your poor Servant! Your Benignity lately forgave my Crime, vouchsafe, out of the Bowels of God's Mercy to forgive the Punishment likewise, that your Gifts may be as perfect as your most rev. Lordship.

Now the Time approaches when our Redeemer, CHRIST, descended from the Heavens, to reconcile Sinners to God the Father, vouchsafe, most great Prelate, in the same Manner, to take me from the *Shades of Death*, in this Season of Grace, by the Right-hand of your Clemency, and to restore me to *Holy Light*, that, on the LORD's Birth-day, I, being likewise, by your Means, *regenerated*, may be able to return Thanks, and pray to the same Lord JESUS with Tranquillity of Mind, and a chearful Heart, for your most rev. Lordship, as I shall constantly do while Life remains.

Therefore, good and most rev. Lord, have Mercy on me speedily, who am afflicted and in great Distress: Save me, O thou, who can'st save for ever! Have Mercy, I say, because the Season for Mercy and Salvation draws near. Amen.

Your most rev. Lordship's

Humble Creature,

POLYDOR

But the Cardinal knew *Polydor* too well to trust him, or employ him in any Affairs during the whole Course of his Ministry, which leaves us no room to wonder at what *Polydor* afterwards did, when he thought himself above the Reach of being called to Account for his unjust Reflections on him. We shall now leave this black, ungrateful Author, to attend to the Characters given us by three eminent Writers, a *Protestant*, a *Roman Catholick*, and a *Player*.

“ He maintained his Innocence with
 “ the highest Solemnities, pressed for a
 “ Trial, and desired nothing more than
 “ to be brought Face to Face before his Enemies :
 “ These one would think are no great Signs of *De-*
 “ *jection* or *Despair* : By the way, this Remark may
 “ serve to clear him in some measure from the Imputa-
 “ tion of *Cowardice*, which a learned Historian, [Bishop
 “ *Burnet*,] has thrown upon him. *Fox* charges the Car-
 “ dinal with poisoning himself; but, to do him Justice
 “ against *Fox*, if there was any foul Play, 'tis most likely
 “ 'twas received from those who had him in Custody.
 “ The Cardinal was not altogether without his Failings ;
 “ he seems to have affected Pomp and secular Grandeur
 “ too much ; he held the Offices of *Lord Chancellor*,
 “ the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, with the rich Abbey of
 “ *St. Albans*, and the Archbishoprick of *York* all at
 “ one Time ; this, without doubt, was being too
 “ great a *Pluralist* : He appears likewise to have
 “ been too resigned a Courtier, and over obsequious
 “ to the King's Pleasure ; and this Excess of Com-
 “ plaisance he regretted at his very last Hour ; and
 “ to this sort of Misconduct a high Station lies not
 “ a little exposed. But then, he had the Mixture
 “ of many good Qualities : He was a Person of
 “ great Parts and Industry, had deservedly the Re-
 “ putation of an able Minister, and was courted by
 “ the greatest Princes : His Learning is said to have
 “ lain

*Mr. Collier's
 Character of the
 Cardinal.*

“lain most in School Divinity, and Canon Law ;
 “but, notwithstanding this Character of Abatement,
 “we do not find he was ever taxed of being under-
 “qualified for the Chancery-bench. He is much
 “blamed by some Historians for Haughtiness and
 “stiff Behaviour ; but, if this had been his Fault,
 “it seems he left it off before his last Misfortune ;*
 “for

* In further Support of what we have said of the Cardinal's commendable Behaviour after his Retreat, we here introduce Copies of two Letters from him to Dr. Gardiner, Secretary of State, communicated to us by Mr. Littleton, (in whose Hands the Originals are) which are composed *literatim*, as a Specimen of the Spelling at that Time ; tho' we have modernized the Spelling in most of the other Letters, to prevent any Perplexity to our Readers.

‘ To the Ryght honorable Mr. Secretary, in hast.

‘ My owne goode Mastyr Secretary,

‘ GOYNG this Day out
 ‘ of my Pue to Hey
 ‘ Masse, your Lettres datyd yesternyght at London wer delyveryd unto me ; by the contynue wherof I undyrstand, that the Kyng's Hyhnes, of hys excellent Goodnes & Charyte, ys contentyd, that I shal injoy & have the Admynystracion of Yorke Minster with the Gyfts of the Promotions spiritual & temporall of the same, reservinge onely unto his nobyll Grace the gyft of v or vi of the best Promotions. And that hys Pleasure ys, I shal leve *Wynchester*

‘ & Saynt Albons. As I would, Mr Secretary, I cannot expresse howe much I am bowndyn to the Kynge's Royal Majeste for thys hys gret & bownteowse Liberalyte, reputyng the same to be muche more then I shal ever be abyld to deserve. Howbeyt yf hys Majeste confyderyng the short & lyttyl Tyme, that I shal lyve here in thys World by the reason of such Hevynes as I have conceyvyd in my hert wyth the ruinowse of the olde Howsys & the decay of the said Archbyshopryck at the best to the Sum of viii C Marke yearly, by the reason of the Act passyd for Fynys of Testaments, wth also my long paynful Servys and poore Degre ; and for the Declaration of hys Grace's excellent Cheryte, yf hys Hyhnes be myndyd I shal leve *Wynchester* & Saynt Albon's, wych I supposyd, when I maid my Submyssyon, not offendyng in my Trewth towards hys Royal Parsen, Dygnyte, or Majeste Royal, I should not, nor had desyryd to have Life ; and much the more knowyng his Grace's excellent Propensyon to Pyte & Mercy, & remembryng the francke Departyng

“ for *Cavendish* relates, that, in his last Journey to the
 “ North, he gained very much upon all Sorts of
 “ People, and that he was remarkable, not only for
 “ his Bounty and exemplary Life, but likewise for
 “ his Condescension and obliging Manner. He seems
 “ to have been a good-natured Man, by the Ten-
 “ derness

‘ yng with of all that I had in
 ‘ thys World, that I may have
 ‘ some conveyent Pension re-
 ‘ servyd unto me, such as the
 ‘ Kyng’s Hyhnes of his nobyll
 ‘ hert shal thynke mete, so
 ‘ orderyng his that shal suc-
 ‘ cede unto my lyvyngs, that
 ‘ the same may be of lyck va-
 ‘ lew yeerly and exttent. Where-
 ‘ as my trust ys, that, and my
 ‘ Herte so gevyth me, that hys
 ‘ Majeste wold make no Dyf-
 ‘ fyculte, yf yt may lycke yow
 ‘ friendly to propound the same,
 ‘ assuryng yow, that I desyre not
 ‘ thys for any mynde, (God ys
 ‘ my judge,) that I have to
 ‘ accumulate Good, or desyre,
 ‘ that I have to the mucke of
 ‘ World ; for, God be thank-
 ‘ yd, at thys ower I set no
 ‘ more by the Ryches of & Pree-
 ‘ minences of the World, then
 ‘ by the dust under my Fote ;
 ‘ but onely for the Declaration
 ‘ of the Kyng’s Favor & hyhe
 ‘ Cheryte, & to have where-
 ‘ with to do good dedys, &
 ‘ to helpe my poore servants &
 ‘ kynnysfolks. And further-
 ‘ more that yt wold please the
 ‘ Kyng’s excellent Goodnes by
 ‘ your freindly Medyation, con-
 ‘ syderyng how slendyrly I am
 ‘ furnyshyd in my Howse, nowe
 ‘ specially that the Apparell of
 ‘ Wynchester and Saynt Albons

‘ shal be takyn from me to geve
 ‘ and appoynt unto me a conve-
 ‘ nyent for the same, *non ad pom-
 ‘ pam, sed necessariam honestatem.*
 ‘ And yf I may have the free
 ‘ gyft and Dysposytion of the
 ‘ Benyfyts, yt shal be gretly to
 ‘ my Comfort. And yet when
 ‘ any of the v or vi pryncypall
 ‘ shal Fortune to be voyd, the
 ‘ Kyng’s Grace being mynded
 ‘ to have any of them, hys hyh-
 ‘ nes shal be as sure of the same,
 ‘ as though they wer reservyd.
 ‘ And thus by his nobyl &
 ‘ mercyful Goodnes delyvered
 ‘ owt of extreme Calamite, &
 ‘ restoryd to a newe Fredome,
 ‘ I shal, with God’s Mercy &
 ‘ Help, so ordyr my Lyff, that
 ‘ I trust hys Majeste shal take
 ‘ special Comfort therin, & be
 ‘ pleasyd with the same : *Spero
 ‘ quod hoc, quod peto, non vide-
 ‘ bitur magnum.* Howbeyt I
 ‘ most humbly submyt and re-
 ‘ ferre all my Petytions, *immo
 ‘ nostram Vitam*, to his gracyous
 ‘ Ordynance & Pleasure, pray-
 ‘ ing yow to declare & syg-
 ‘ nify the same, supplying myn
 ‘ Indyposytion & lacke of
 ‘ Wyt, waynyd by Reason of
 ‘ my extreme sorowe & hevy-
 ‘ nes, that the same may be to
 ‘ the Kyng’s ostentation, wher-
 ‘ in I had lever be ded then to
 ‘ offende in Word, Thowght,
 ‘ or

“ dernefs and Regret between him and his Family
 “ at parting, and his declaring, *That no Circumstance*
 “ *in his Misfortunes troubled him so much, as his*
 “ *being disabled from making a Provision for his*
 “ *Servants.*

“ His

“ or Dede. And as towchyng
 “ the grantyng of the Fee of one
 “ C L. for Mr. Nores duryng
 “ hys Lyff for hys good Servys
 “ done unto the Kyng's Hyh-
 “ nes, for the wych I have al-
 “ ways lovyd him, and for the
 “ singular good hert and mynde,
 “ that I knowe he hath always
 “ borne unto me, I am content
 “ to make out my Grawnte upon
 “ the same, ye & it wol please
 “ the Kyng to inlarge it C L.
 “ more; and semblebly cause
 “ Mr. *Treſorer* hath the kepyng
 “ of the Kyng's Game nygh to
 “ *Fernam*, I wold gladly, if it
 “ may stand with the Kyng's
 “ Pleasure, grawnte unto hym
 “ the Reversion of such Reve-
 “ nues of the sayd Lands, sithens
 “ then with the ----- of
 “ the Fee above that wych is
 “ oldely accustomyd, to the
 “ Sum of XL L. by the Yeere;
 “ & also I wold gladly geve to
 “ Mr. *Comptroller* a lycke Fee,
 “ & to Mr. *Ruffel*, another of
 “ XX L. by the Yeere. Remyt-
 “ tyng thys and all other my
 “ Suts to the Kyng's Hyhnes
 “ Pleasure, Mercy, Pity, & Com-
 “ passion, moſte humbly beſeech-
 “ yng hys Hyhnes ſo nowe gra-
 “ cyouſly to ordyr me, that I
 “ may from henceforth ſerve
 “ God quietly & with reſpoſe of
 “ mynd, & praye as I am moſt
 “ bowndyn, for the Conſerva-
 “ tyon & Increaſe of his moſt
 “ nobyl & Royal Eſtate. And

“ thus with my daily Prayer
 “ I byd yow farewell. From
 “ *Aſher* hapely with the rude
 “ Hand and moſte hevy herte of
 “ *Your affured Frende*

“ & *Bedyſman,*

“ T. Car.lis Ebor.

“ *To the Ryght honorable and*
 “ *my affuryd Frende Maſtyr*
 “ *Secretary.*

“ *My owne goode Maſtyr Secretary,*

“ A F T Y R my moſte herty
 “ Commendations I pray
 “ yow at the reverens of God
 “ to helpe, that Expedition be
 “ uſyd in my Perſuts, the De-
 “ lay wherof ſoreplenyſhyth my
 “ Herte with Hevynes, that I
 “ can take no reſte; not for any
 “ vayne fere, but onely for the
 “ miſerable condytion, that I am
 “ preſently yn, and lyklyhod
 “ to contynue yn the ſame, onles
 “ that yow, in whom ys myn
 “ affuryd Truſte, do help &
 “ relive me therin. For fyrſt,
 “ contynuyng in this moiſte &
 “ corrupt Ayer, beyng enteryd
 “ into the Paſſyon of the Dropſy

“ *Appetitus et continuo inſomnio,*

“ I cannot lyve: Whirfor of ne-
 “ ceſſyte I muſt be removyd to
 “ ſome other dryer Ayer and Place,
 “ where I may have Comodyte
 “ of Phyſycyans. Secondly, hav-
 “ yng but Parte, wych is now
 “ decayd, by viii C L. by the
 “ Yeere, I cannot tell how to
 “ lyve, & kepe the poore nom-

“ byr

“ His Schemes for the Benefit of Learning were
 “ noble and well laid, as appears by his College
 “ at *Oxford*; he likewise founded a College at
 “ *Ipswich*, for the Service of Religion and the
 “ Poor: He likewise designed the Founding of a
 “ So-

byr of Folks, wych I nowe
 have, my Howfys ther be in
 decay, and of evry Thyng
 mete for Howffold unprovdyd
 yd and furnyshyd. I have
 non Apparell for my How-
 fys ther, nor money to bring
 me thether, nor to lyve wyth
 tyl the ----- tyme of the
 Yeere, shall come to remove
 thether. Thes thyngs con-
 syderyd, Mr. *Secretary*, must
 nedys make me yn Agony &
 Hevynes, myn Age ther-
 with & Sycknes consyderyd,
 Alas Mr. *Secretary*, ye with o-
 ther my Lords shewyd me, that
 I shuld otherwyse be furnysh-
 yd & feyn unto, ye knowe in
 your Lirnyng & Confyens,
 whether I shuld forset my
 Spiritualties of *Wynchester* or
 no. Alas! the Qualytes of myn
 Offencys consyderyd, with the
 gret Punishment & Loss of
 Goodes, that I have sustaynyd
 owt to move pytiful Sutys;
 and the moſte nobyl Kyng,
 to whom yf yt wold please
 yow of your cherytable Good-
 nes to shewe the Premises af-
 tyr your accustomable Wyf-
 dom & Dexteryte yt ys not
 to be dowbtyd, but his High-
 nes wold have Conſyderatyon
 & Compassyon, augmentyng
 my Lyvyng, & appoyntyng
 ſuch thyngs, as ſhould be con-
 venient for my Furniture, wych
 to do ſhal be to the Kyng's
 Highnes Honor, Meryte,
 & Dyſcharge of Conſyens,
 & to your gret Prayſe for
 the bryngyng of the ſame to
 paſſe for your old Brynger up
 and lovyng Frende. Thys Kynd-
 nes exhibite from the Kyng's
 Hyghnes ſhal prolong my
 Lyff for ſome lytyl whyl,
 thow yt ſhal not be long, by
 the Meane whereof hys Grace
 ſhal take Proſytt, & by my
 Deth non. What ys yt to hys
 Hyghnes to give ſome conve-
 nyent Penſions owt of *Wyn-
 cheſter*, & *Seynt Albons*, hys
 Grace takyng with my herty
 good wyl the Reſidew. Re-
 member, good Mr. *Secretary*,
 my poore Degre, & what
 Servys I have done, & how
 nowe approchyng to Deth, I
 muſt begyn the World ageyn.
 I beſech you therfore, movyd
 with Pity & Compaſſyon
 ſoker me in thys my Cala-
 mite, & to your Power, wych
 I knowe ys gret, releve me;
 & I wyth all myn ſhal not
 onely aſcrybe thys my Relef
 unto yow, but alſo praye to
 God for the Increaſe of your
 Honor, & as my Power ſhal
 increaſe, ſo I ſhal not fayle
 to requyte your Kyndnes.
 Wryttn haſtely at *Aſher*, with
 the rude and ſhackyng Hand
 of
 Your dayly Bedysman,
 And affuryd Frend,
 T. CAR. lis EBOR.

“ Society in *London*, for the *Civil and Canon Law* :
 “ For this Purpose he projected the building a fine
 “ Stone College : The famous Antiquary, Sir *Tho-*
 “ *mas Cotton*, saw the Model of this Structure. He
 “ built the greatest Part of *White-hall*, and *Hampton-*
 “ *court* entirely. The Monument of Brass, which
 “ he left imperfect, was a Work of extraordinary
 “ Curiosity and Expence. ’Tis not certain, whether
 “ he designed this *Mausoleum* for the King, or him-
 “ self. He came into the World with no Advantage
 “ of Family, his Father being but a poor Man in
 “ *Ipswich* : But *Cavendish* says nothing of his being a
 “ Butcher. While the Cardinal sat at the Helm
 “ the Kingdom held on in a Course of Prosperity,
 “ and the publick Motions were steady and strong ;
 “ but not long after the Government grew perplexed
 “ and unacceptable, and the Face of Things were
 “ much altered both at Home and Abroad ; and, to
 “ speak softly, it must be said, *The King crushed this*
 “ *Minister with a very indifferent Grace.*”

Church His- “ It is a difficult Matter to give a
 torian. “ Character of this great Man, without
 “ displeasing almost all Sorts of Readers ;
 “ few Writers have done him Justice ; they com-
 “ monly discover both a great deal of Passion and
 “ Prejudice in the Account they give of him ; *Ca-*
 “ *tho-*

Our renowned *Shakespear* gives an Account of *Wolfey’s* Death
 in a Scene, where he introduces *Queen Catherine*, (whom he calls
Catherine Dowager) being sick, led between *Griffith*, her Gentle-
 man-usher, and *Patience*, her Woman.

Grif. How does your Grace ?

Kath. O *Griffith* ! sick to Death !

My Legs, like loaded Branches, bow to the Earth,
 Willing to leave their Burdens : Reach a Chair—

So—now methinks I feel a little Ease.

[*Sitting down.*]

Did’st thou not tell me, *Griffith*, as thou led’st me,
 That the great Child of Honour, Cardinal *Wolfey*, was dead ?

Grif. Yes, Madam ; but I think your Grace,
 Out of the Pain you suffer’d, gave no ear to it.

Kath.

“ *tholicks* attack him as being the grand Promoter
 “ of the Divorce; *Protestants* inveigh against him
 “ as one of the great Enemies of the *Reformation*;
 “ *Laymen* represent him as a proud Prelate, and
 “ take an Occasion to wound all the Clergy through
 “ his Sides; the *Clergy* exclaim against him for his
 “ exorbitant Power, which obstructed the ordinary
 “ Jurisdiction of the Episcopal Order; the *Monks*
 “ were provoked with his Project of alienating so
 “ much of their Lands; the *Nobility* despised him as
 “ a Court-meteor of no solid Extraction; the *Com-*
 “ *mon People* opened against him as the Author of
 “ a great many Taxes, to support the Pride of an
 “ expensive Ministry, and an arbitrary Prince. I
 “ shall not pretend to determine how far the Car-
 “ dinal was singular or reprehensible in the Cases a-
 “ bove-mentioned: Thus much I dare venture to
 “ say in general, *Never did any Statesman manage a*
 “ *Prince with greater Dexterity, and one who threw*
 “ *so many Riders; none ever held the Reins with more*
 “ *Steadiness; he had a capacious Soul, replenished with*
 “ *the highest Ideas of Show and splendid Greatness.*
 “ *No Subject ever appeared more like a King, or left*
 “ *greater Monuments of a princely Genius.* As
 “ *no Prelate possessed larger Revenues, so none em-*
 “ *ployed*

Kath. Prythee, good *Griffith*, tell me how he dy'd,
 If well, he slept before me happily,
 For my Example.

Grif. Well, the Voice goes, Madam.
 For, after the stout Earl of *Northumberland*
 Arrested him at *York*, and brought him forward
 (As a Man sorely tainted) to his Answer,
 He fell sick suddenly, and grew so ill
 He could not sit his Mule.

Kath. Alas, poor Man!

Grif. At last, with easy Rides, he came to *Leicester*;
 Lodged in the Abbey; where the rev'rend Abbot,
 With all his Convent, honourably receiv'd him;
 To whom he gave these Words, “ O Father Abbot!

Z z

“ An

“ ployed them with greater Credit, both to Church and
 “ State. He was a Man of prodigious Parts, and was
 “ no less industrious to make them useful to Mankind:
 “ For he was Master of all those Qualifications, which
 “ were capable of making him both agreeable and ser-
 “ viceable to a Prince. He was personable, learned,
 “ eloquent, affable, penetrating, industrious, generous,
 “ and had the Interest of his Country purely at Heart.
 “ Nothing was wanting to compleat his Character, had
 “ not this noble Structure been erected upon the Basis
 “ of an ignoble and obscure Birth, which Custom has
 “ made a sufficient Consideration to depretiate true and
 “ genuine Merit. If he gathered with one Hand, he as
 “ freely bestowed it with the other. He entertained 800
 “ Domef-

“ An old Man, broken with the Storms of State,
 “ Is come to lay his weary Bones among ye ;
 “ Give him a little Earth for Charity.”

So went to Bed ; where eagerly his Sicknefs
 Pursued him still, and three Nights after this,
 About the Hour of eight, (which he himself
 Foretold should be his last) full of Repentance,
 Continual Meditations, Tears, and Sorrows,
 He gave his Honours to the World again,
 His best Part to Heav'n, and slept in Peace.

Kath. So may he rest, his Faults lie bury'd with him,
 Yet thus far *Griffith*, give me leave to speak him,
 And yet with Charity ; he was a Man
 Of an unbounded Stomach, ever ranking
 Himself with Princes : One that by Suggestion
 Ty'd all the Kingdom ; Simony was fair Play :
 His own Opinion was his Law. I'th' Presence
 He would say Untruths, and be ever double
 Both in his Words and Meaning. He was never,
 But where he meant to ruin, pitiful.
 His Promises were, as he then was, mighty ;
 But his Performance, as he now is, nothing.
 Of his own Body he was ill, and gave
 The Clergy ill Example.

Grif Noble Madam ;
 Men's evil Manners live in Brass, their Virtues
 We write in Water. May it please your Highness
 To hear me speak his Good now.

Kath.

“ Domesticks, whereof 9 or 10 were Lords, 15 Knights,
 “ and 40 Esquires. The Clergy that were preferred
 “ by him were generally considered upon Account of their
 “ Parts and Merits; and the Poor, according to their
 “ Necessities, received more or less. He never engaged
 “ the King into any Alliance that was not for his
 “ Honour and Advantage: The Character of just can-
 “ not be denied the Cardinal in all Affairs of publick
 “ Judicature. He laid the Foundation of two of the
 “ noblest Colleges in the World, had his Idea been pur-
 “ sued. He established seven University Lectures, and
 “ built the two Palaces of White-hall and Hampton-
 “ court. In fine he was as great Abroad, as he was
 “ at Home; for, while he was Chief Minister, he
 “ played

Kath. Yes, good Griffith,
 I were malicious else.

Grif. This Cardinal,
 Though from an humble Stock, undoubtedly
 Was fashion'd to much Honour. From his Cradle
 He was a Scholar, and a ripe and good one;
 Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and perswading;
 Lofty and sour to them that lov'd him not,
 But to those Men that sought him sweet as Summer.
 And though he were unsatisfy'd in getting,
 (Which was a Sin) yet in bestowing, Madam,
 He was most princely. Ever witness for him
 Those Twins of Learning that he rais'd in you,
 Ipswich and Oxford! one of which fell with him,
 Unwilling to out-live the Good he did it:
 The other, though unfinish'd, yet so famous,
 So excellent in Art, and still so rising,
 That Christendom shall ever speak his Virtue.
 His Overthrow heap'd Happiness upon him;
 For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
 And found the Blessedness of being little:
 And, to add greater Honour to his Age,
 Than Man could give him, he dy'd fearing God.

Kath. After my Death I wish no other Herald,
 No other Speaker of my living Actions,
 To keep mine Honour from Corruption,
 But such an honest Chronicler as Griffith.
 Whom I most hated living, thou hast made me,
 With thy religious Truth and Modesty,
 Now in his Ashes, honour. Peace with him!

“ played what Game he pleased upon two of the greatest
 “ Powers of Europe, who retired or approached ac-
 “ cording as the Cardinal moved his Hand. The Errors
 “ of his private Life were in great measure Ca-
 “ lumnies raised by his Enemies, upon his declin-
 “ ing Fortune, and what publick Miscarriages he was
 “ charged with were entirely owing to a passionate
 “ and ungovernable Prince; but it is hoped they
 “ were all atoned for by a timely Repentance.
 “ From the whole, it will appear how unreasonably
 “ some of our Historians are transported in his
 “ Disfavour, especially Mr. Fox, and his Copier,
 “ Dr. Burnet.”*

Bruyere. There is something so very applicable,
 in one of Mons. Bruyere's *Fables*, to the
 Cardinal's Original and End, that we shall conclude
 with it.

“ THERE HAS APPEARED IN THE WORLD,
 “ FROM TIME TO TIME, SOME ADMIRABLE
 “ EXTRAORDINARY MEN, WHOSE VIRTUE AND
 “ EMINENT QUALITIES HAVE CAST A PRODI-
 “ GIOUS LUSTRE, LIKE THOSE UNUSUAL STARS
 “ IN THE HEAVENS, THE CAUSES OF WHICH
 “ WE ARE IGNORANT OF, AND KNOW AS LIT-
 “ TLE WHAT BECOMES OF THEM AFTER THEY
 “ DISAPPEAR. THESE MEN HAVE NEITHER
 “ ANCESTORS NOR POSTERITY, THEY ALONE
 “ COMPOSE THEIR WHOLE RACE.”

* Hollingshead, Hall, Grafton, Echard, Rapin, and many
 others.





*MEMOIRS of King HENRY the
VIIIth, from WOLSEY's Death to the
End of his Reign.*



HENRY at last was become *Wolsey's* Heir and Executor, and the Wealth he gained thereby was very agreeable to his voracious and extravagant Disposition. Hitherto, or at least to *Wolsey's* Fall, the King's Reign had been glorious ; but was much otherwise afterwards.

This Year the King took into his Hands the Hospital of *St. James* near *Charing-cross*, which he obtained, as *Stow* relates, by allowing the Sisters of that House yearly Pensions for their Lives. As soon as the King was in Possession thereof he built a handsome Palace, and gave it the Name of *St. James's House*, which it retains to this Day, and also made the Meadows, that lay between this new Palace and *White-hall*, into a Park, planted it with Trees, and walled it round ; yet it has ever since been open for all People to walk in at convenient Times, which, doubtless, greatly contributes to the Health of the Inhabitants of *Westminster*, &c.

The King takes Possession of St. James's House.
1531.

And as the King found he could not obtain what he hoped for from *Rome*, he called a Parliament, which met on the 4th of *Feb.* who passed an Act, forbidding all Appeals to that Court, upon Pain of incurring a *Premunire*.

The Parliament meets.
1532.

He

Henry intent
upon obtaining
the Divorce.

He now pursued his Divorce, in which *Cranmer* had made a considerable Progress; but, the Pope absolutely refusing to come into the King's Terms, all Commerce between his Subjects and the Papal See was entirely forbid in very harsh Words, the King in his Proclamation calling the Pope *Tyrant, the Harpy of the World, the common Incendiary, and one utterly unworthy of that Title, he had vain-gloriously usurped, of Christ's Vicar.*

Plunders
the Cler-
gy.

Next he fell upon the Clergy, for that, without his Licence, as he alledged, they had acknowledged and been obedient to the Authority of the Pope, by receiving *Wolsey* as his *Legate*, for which Offence he had the whole Clergy condemned in a *Premunire*, though nothing was more plain, than *Wolsey's* having the King's Authority for executing that Office. On this the Province of *Canterbury*, knowing his Majesty's Temper, instantly made their Submission, and obtained their Pardon upon paying 100,000*l.* of whom he also demanded, that they, assembled in Convocation, should acknowledge him as *Supream Head of the Church*, which, though with great Difficulty, they at last consented to. The Province of *York* likewise gained their Pardon, upon paying 18,840*l.* and acknowledging the King's Supremacy, which was soon after confirmed to his Majesty by Act of Parliament.

Anna Bulleyn
created Marchio-
ness of Pembroke.

1533.

The King was pleased to create his lovely Favourite * *Anna Bulleyn* Marchioness of *Pembroke*, gave her 1000*l.* a Year, and publicly declared,

* As a further Instance of the King's Love-sick Passion for this Lady, before he enjoyed her, he wrote in *French* were translated after they were copied by Dr. *Fall*, Precentor of *York*, in the Year 1683.

Let-

declared he would seek some other Way to obtain
Ease of Conscience, being fully satisfied, by the De-
termination of the Convocations of *Canterbury* and
York,

*Letters written by King Henry
the VIIIth to Anne Boleyn.*

TO inform you what Joy
it is to me to understand
of your Conformableness
with Reason, and of the sup-
pressing of your inutile and vain
Thoughts and Fantasies with
the Bridle of Reason I ensure
you all the Good in the World
could not counterpoise for my
Satisfaction, the Knowledge and
Certainty thereof: Wherefore,
good Sweet-heart, continue the
same not only in this, but in
all your Doings hereafter, for
thereby shall come both to you
and me the greatest Quietness
that may be in the World.
The Cause why this Bearer
staid so long, is the Business
that I have to dress up Geer
for you, which I trust, ere long
to see you occupy, and then
I trust to occupy yours, which
shall be Recompence enough
to me for all my Pains and
Labours. The unfeigned Sick-
ness of this well willing Legate
doth somewhat retard his Ac-
cess to your Person, but I trust
verily, when God shall send
him Health, he will with Di-
ligence recompence his De-
mur; for I know well where
he hath said, (lamenting the
Saying, and Brute, that he
shall be thought Imperial*) that
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shall be well known in this
Matter, that he is not Impe-
rial. † And thus, for lack of
Tyme, farewell. Written with
the Hand which feign would
be yours, and so is the Heart.
‘H. REX’

BEcause the Time seems to
me very long, since I
have heard from you, or con-
cerning your Health, the great
Affection I have for you has
obliged me to send this Bearer, to
be better informed both of your
Health and Pleasure; particular-
ly because, since my last Part-
ing with you, I have been told,
that you have intirely changed
the Opinion in which I left
you, and that you would nei-
ther come to Court with your
Mother, nor any other Way;
which Report, if true, I can-
not enough wonder at, being
persuaded in my own Mind,
that I have never committed
any Offence against you; and
it seems a very small Return,
for the great Love I bear to
you, to be kept at a Distance
from the Person and Presence
of the Woman in the World
that I value the most; and if
you love me with as much Af-
fection, as I hope you do, I am
sure the Distance of our two
Persons would be a little un-
easy unto you. Though this
A a a does

* As much as to say he was of the Emperor's Party, and consequently
against the Divorce.

† Here the King was mistaken.

York, the Universities both at Home and Abroad, of divers learned Men, not only his own Subjects, but Foreigners, “ That the Pope, who had no Power over the

‘ does not belong so much to the
 ‘ Mistress as the Servant. Con-
 ‘ sider well, my Mistress, how
 ‘ greatly your Absence grieves
 ‘ me ; I hope it is not your
 ‘ Will, that it should be so ; but
 ‘ if I heard for certain, that you
 ‘ yourself desired it, I could do
 ‘ no other than complain of my
 ‘ ill Fortune, *and by degrees a-*
 ‘ *bate my great Folly :* And so,
 ‘ for want of Time, I make an
 ‘ End of my rude Letter, desir-
 ‘ ing you to give Credit to this
 ‘ Bearer in all he will tell you
 ‘ from me. Written by the Hand
 ‘ of your entire Servant,

‘ H. REX.’

‘ **T**HE Uneasiness, my Doubts
 ‘ about your Health gave
 ‘ me, disturbed, and frightened
 ‘ me extreamly, and I should
 ‘ not have had any Quiet with-
 ‘ out hearing a certain Account.
 ‘ But now, since you have yet felt
 ‘ nothing, I hope it is with you
 ‘ as with us ; for, when we were
 ‘ at *Walton*, two Ushers, two
 ‘ *Valets de Chambre*, and your
 ‘ Brother, Master Treasurer, fell
 ‘ ill, and are now quite well ;
 ‘ and, since we are returned to
 ‘ your House at *Hounsdon*, we
 ‘ have been perfectly well, God
 ‘ be praised, and have not at pre-
 ‘ sent one sick Person in the Fa-
 ‘ mily ; and I think, if you
 ‘ would retire from the *Surrey*
 ‘ Side, as we did, you would
 ‘ escape all Danger. There is

‘ another Thing that may com-
 ‘ fort you, which is, that in
 ‘ Truth, in this Distemper *
 ‘ few or no Women have been
 ‘ taken ill ; and besides, no Per-
 ‘ son of our Court, and few else-
 ‘ where, have died of it. For
 ‘ which Reasons I beg you, *my*
 ‘ *entirely Beloved*, not to frigh-
 ‘ ten yourself, nor to be too
 ‘ uneasy at our Absence. For,
 ‘ wherever I am, *I am yours*,
 ‘ and yet we must sometimes
 ‘ submit to our Misfortunes ; for,
 ‘ whoever will struggle against
 ‘ Fate, is generally so much the
 ‘ farther from gaining his End :
 ‘ Wherefore comfort yourself,
 ‘ and take Courage, and make
 ‘ this Misfortune as easy to you
 ‘ as you can ; and I hope shortly
 ‘ to make you sing for Joy of
 ‘ your Recal. No more at pre-
 ‘ sent for lack of Time, but that
 ‘ *I wish you in my Arms, that*
 ‘ *I might a little dispel your*
 ‘ *unreasonable Thoughts.* Writ-
 ‘ ten by the Hand of him who
 ‘ is, and always will be yours,
 ‘ *My H. REX, lovely.*’

‘ **B**Y turning over in my
 ‘ Thoughts the Contents of
 ‘ your last Letters, I have put
 ‘ myself into a great Agony,
 ‘ not knowing how to understand
 ‘ them, whether to my Disad-
 ‘ vantage, as I understood some
 ‘ others, or not : I beseech you
 ‘ now, with the greatest Earnest-
 ‘ ness, to let me know your In-
 ‘ tention

* The Sweating Sicknefs.

“ the positive Law of God, could not, by his *Dis-*
“ *pensation*, ratify a Marriage contracted between a

A a a 2

“ Bro-

‘ tention as to the *Love between*
‘ *us two*. For I must of Necess-
‘ fity obtain this Answer of you,
‘ *having been above a whole*
‘ *Year struck with the Dart of*
‘ *Love*, and not yet sure whe-
‘ ther I shall fail, or find a Place
‘ in your Heart and Affection;
‘ this Uncertainty has hindered
‘ me of late from naming you
‘ my Mistress, since you only
‘ love me with an ordinary Af-
‘ fection; but if you please to
‘ do the Duty of a true and
‘ loyal Mistress, and to give up
‘ yourself, *Body and Heart* un-
‘ to me, who will be, as I have
‘ been, your most loyal Ser-
‘ vant, (if your Rigour does
‘ not forbid me) I promise you,
‘ that not only the Name shall
‘ be given you, but also that I
‘ will take you for my Mistress,
‘ casting off all others that are
‘ in Competition with you, out
‘ of my Thoughts and Affection,
‘ and *serving you only*. I beg
‘ you to give me an entire An-
‘ swer to this my rude Letter,
‘ that I may know on what,
‘ and how far I may depend.
‘ But if it does not please you to
‘ answer in Writing, let me
‘ know some Place, where I may
‘ have it by Word of Mouth,
‘ and I will go thither with all
‘ my Heart. No more for fear
‘ of tiring you. Written by the
‘ Hand of him who would wil-
‘ lingly remain yours,

‘ H. REX.’

‘ F O R a Present so valuable
‘ that nothing could be
‘ more, (considering the Whole
‘ of it) I return you my most
‘ hearty Thanks, not only on
‘ account of the costly Dia-
‘ mond, and the Ship in which
‘ the solitary Damsel is tossed
‘ about; but chiefly for the fine
‘ Interpretation, and too humble
‘ Submission which your Good-
‘ ness hath made to me. For I
‘ think it would be very difficult
‘ for me to find an Occasion to
‘ deserve it, if I was not assisted
‘ by your great Humanity and
‘ Favour, which I have sought,
‘ do seek, and will always seek,
‘ to preserve by all the Services
‘ in my Power; and this is my
‘ firm Intention and Hope, ac-
‘ cording to the Motto, *Aut il-*
‘ *lic, aut nullibi*. * The Demon-
‘ strations of your Affections are
‘ such, the fine Thoughts of your
‘ Letter so cordially expressed,
‘ that they oblige me for ever
‘ to honour, love, and serve you
‘ sincerely; beseeching you to
‘ continue in the same firm and
‘ constant Purpose; and assuring
‘ you, that on my Part I will
‘ not only make you a suitable
‘ Return, but out-do you in Loy-
‘ alty of Heart, if it be possible.
‘ I desire you also, that, if at
‘ any Time before this I have
‘ in any sort offended you, you
‘ will give me the Absolution
‘ which you ask, assuring you,
‘ that hereafter my Heart shall
‘ be

* *Either here, or no-where.*

“ Brother, and a Brother’s Widow, it being forbidden
 “ by the exprefs Words of the Scripture.” *

“ be dedicated to you alone, I
 “ wish my Body were so too.
 “ God can do it if he Pleases;
 “ to whom I pray once a Day
 “ for that End; hoping that at
 “ length my Prayers will be
 “ heard. I wish the Time may
 “ be short, but I shall think it
 “ long, till we shall see one ano-
 “ ther. Written by the Hand of
 “ the Secretary, who in Heart,
 “ Body, and Will, is,

“ Your loyal and most
 “ Assured Servant,

“ H. no other Heart, A.B. seeks REX.”

“ Darling, tho’ I have scant
 “ Leisure, yet, remembring
 “ my Promise, I thought it con-
 “ venient to certify you briefly,
 “ in what Case our Affairs stand.
 “ As touching a Lodging for
 “ you, we have gotten one by
 “ my Lord Cardinal’s Means, the
 “ like whereof could not have
 “ been found hereabouts for all
 “ Causes, as this Bearer shall
 “ more shew you. As touch-
 “ ing our other Affairs, I ensure
 “ you there can be no more done,
 “ nor more Diligence used, nor
 “ all Manner of Dangers better
 “ both foreseen and provided for;
 “ so that I trust it shall be here-
 “ after to both our Comforts, the
 “ Specialities whereof were both
 “ too long to be written, and
 “ hardly by a Messenger to be de-
 “ clared. Wherefore, till you
 “ repair hither, I keep some-
 “ thing in store, trusting it shall
 “ not be long too. For I have

* See Vol. II. p. 14.

† The King it was said, wrote a Treatise against the Pope’s Supremacy.

‡ Very pretty Expressions, for a fond Youth of forty-one, run through
 the whole.

The

“ caused my Lord, your Father,
 “ to make his Provisions with
 “ Speed. And thus, for lack of
 “ Time, Darling, I make an
 “ end of my Letter. Written with
 “ the Hand of him which I
 “ would were yours,

“ H. REX.”

“ Mine own Sweet heart,
 “ this shall be to adver-
 “ tise you of the great Aillingness
 “ that I find here since your De-
 “ parting, for I ensure you, me
 “ thinketh the Time longer, since
 “ your Departing now last, than I
 “ was wont to do a whole Fort-
 “ night: I think your Kindness
 “ and my Fervence of Love caus-
 “ eth it, for otherwise I would
 “ not thought it possible, that for
 “ so little a while it should have
 “ grieved me: But now, that I
 “ am coming towards you, me
 “ thinketh my Pain’s been half
 “ released, and also I am right
 “ well comforted, insomuch that
 “ my † Book maketh substan-
 “ tially for my Matter, in writ-
 “ ing whereof I have spent above
 “ 11 Hours this Day, which
 “ caused me now to write the shor-
 “ ter Letter to you at this Time,
 “ because of some Pain in my
 “ Head, wishing myself (special-
 “ ly in an Evening) in my Sweet-
 “ heart’s Arms, whose pretty
 “ Duckys I trust shortly to kiss. ‡
 “ Written with the Hand of him
 “ that was, is, and shall be yours,
 “ by his Will,

“ H. REX.”

The King's Flame now admitted of no longer Delay : Therefore he privately married *Anna Bulleyn* in *Jan.* before the Divorce was pronounced. *Rapin* charges *Anna Bulleyn* before her Marriage but with a single Fault, namely, for yielding to the King before his Marriage with *Catherine* was nulled : “ But it is, says this sage “ Historian, very difficult for a young Lady of her “ Rank to have Resolution enough to resist the Temp- “ tation of being a Queen, if she could be so lawfully ; “ and it is likely the King made her believe so. “ It cannot however be said, that she yielded to the “ King's Desire before Marriage. He espoused her “ the latest in *Jan.* and she was not brought to “ bed till the 7th of *Sept.** So that there is no- “ thing in that which can give Occasion for any Sus- “ picion.”

The King married privately.

In this Interval *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, died, upon which the King bestowed it on Dr. *Cranmer*, who was in *Germany* deeply employed in the King's Cause. *Rapin* relates it was with great Difficulty *Cranmer* was prevailed upon to accept of this See, and much more to take the accustomed Oath to the Pope, which he did not do until he entered a private Protestation against it : For, it seems, he was confirmed in it by proper Instruments in the usual Form ; which *Rapin* admits was by no means one of *Cranmer's* commendable Actions. Be that as it will, he was consecrated on the

Warham dies, and Cranmer is made Arch-bishop.

* The good old Wives and Civilians have generally admitted, that a Woman ought to go nine Months with Child ; but this more knowing Author has allowed *Anna Bulleyn* but a little above seven ; which Instance, and many others shews us, that he had always by him false Varnishes as well as Dirt-daubing Colours ; which Materials, we hope, our present *New Compilers* of *ENGLISH History* will be very careful not to make use of ; for certainly one strip of them is much wanted, and will be very acceptable to the Publick,

the 13th of *March*, though he was not put into Possession of the Temporalities till the 29th of *April*.

When *Cranmer* was once fixed in his See, the King was fully determined to end the Affair relating to the Divorce according to his own Liking ; for that end he so ordered, that his new Archbishop should demand his Leave to summon Queen *Catherine*, to appear at *Dunstable*, in the Neighbourhood of the Place where she resided. * This the King readily granted, and his Grace gave her to the 20th of *May* to appear and answer for herself, which she not doing, on the 23d of the same Month he gave Sentence, *That the King's Marriage with Catherine was null, being contrary to the Laws of God.*

And confirms the King's new Marriage.

On the 28th of the same Month the Archbishop, by another Sentence, confirmed the King's Marriage with *Anna Bulleyn*, and on the 1st of *June* she was publickly crowned Queen. Thus ended the Proceedings on this notorious Divorce. †

Rapin's Reflections upon the Actors in the Divorce.

Rapin, in the Conclusion of the Account relating to the Divorce, speaks of the several Parties concerned in it ; the King he first blames, yet endeavours to justify him ; the Pope he entirely condemns, as having acted upon a Principal of Self-interest ; *Wolfey* he calls a bold and daring Minister ; he gives the Emperor the Credit of acting the Part of a Man of Honour, out of Respect to his Aunt, without regard to Justice or Religion ; Queen *Catherine* he alledges acted with Sincerity, though he believes she was guilty of Perjury ;

* *Amptbill.*

† It here appears, that a vast deal of Business was done in the Month of *May* ; and, in a very few Years after, as much was

done in the same Month of another Kind, which proved as fatal to *Anna Bulleyn*, as these Transactions were pleasing to her at this time.

jury; in order to make *Anna Bulleyn's* Cause the better, he charges her but with one Fault, which we have before-mentioned; *Cranmer* he endeavours to acquit, as to what he transacted without the Authority of the Court of *Rome*, in regard he was inclined to be a *Lutheran*: The rest, who were concerned in this Affair, he avers acted only from worldly Views, without having any Religion in their Heads.

On the 7th of *Sep.* the Queen was brought to Bed of a Princess, named *Elizabeth*, who was afterwards the famous Queen of *England* of that Name; she swayed the Scepter for many Years with such high Reputation, that her Name and Memory even at this Time is so greatly revered, that the Day of her Accession to the Throne, the 17th of *Nov.* is annually celebrated. — But she died without Issue, and was stiled, the *Virgin Queen*.

Princess Elizabeth born.

When the News of what had been transacted in *England* reached *Rome*, his Holiness was extreamly angry, and immediately nulled the Archbishop's Sentence, and publickly declared, that the King himself was liable to an Excommunication, unless, by *Sept.* then next, he restored the Cause to its former State, which not being done, it ended in the Pope's formally excommunicating the King.

The Pope excommunicates the King.

In *January* this Year the Parliament met, and they opened their Proceedings in passing an Act to repeal one made in *Henry* the IVth's Time against *Hereticks*.

The Parliament meets.
1534.

Another was passed whereby it was enacted, “ That all Convocations for the future should be called to meet by Virtue of the King's Writ only: That the King should name 32 Persons of both Houses of Parliament, and a like Number from the Clergy, to examine the Canons and Constitutions of the Church, with Power to abrogate or confirm such as they thought fit.”

Whilst

*The Pope's
Power demo-
lished by Act
of Parlia-
ment.*

Whilst the Parliament was thus employed the King received the News of the Pope's Sentence against him; upon which, the whole Nation, as *Rapin* says, being tired of the Pope's Yoke, it was determined at once to restrain that formidable Power, under which the Kingdom had so long groaned. Be that as it will, it is certain, that soon after divers Acts * passed that abolished the Papal Authority in *England*.

On the 7th of *Sept.* Mr. *Cromwell* was made Master of the *Jewel-office*, and was greatly intrusted by

*1. To confirm the Statute for abolishing the *Annates*, or First Fruits:

2. That the Pope shall have nothing to do in nominating or presenting of Bishops; but that, when a Bishoprick shall be vacant, the King shall send to the Chapter a *Conge d'Elire*, and, in case the Election shall not be over within twelve Days after the Licence, it shall belong to the King to present: That the Bishop Elect shall swear Fealty to the King, and then be recommended by his Majesty to the Archbishop to be consecrated: That, if the Bishop elect, or Archbishops shall refuse to obey the Contents of this Act, he or they shall be liable to a *Premunire*. Moreover, all Persons are expressly forbid to apply to the Bishop of *Rome* for Bulls, Palls, and the like.

3. Peters-pence, all Procurations, Delegations, Expeditions of Bulls, and Dispensatives from the Court of *Rome*, were forbid, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was substituted instead thereof to grant the same, as should

not be contrary to the Law, on Condition, that Part of the Money, from thence arising, should be paid into the *Exchequer*: That all religious Houses, exempt and not exempt, should be subject to the Archbishop's Visitation.

4. The King's Marriage with *Catherine* was declared null, void, and ineffective; and forbid, that any should stile her other than Princess of *Wales*, or the Widow Dowager of Prince *Arthur*: At the same Time the King's Marriage with *Anna Bulleyn* was declared valid, and the Succession of the Crown settled upon their Issue: That if any Person of what Quality soever should speak or write against the King's Marriage, he or she should be adjudged a Traitor to the King: That all his Majesty's Subjects, without Distinction, should be obliged to swear to observe and maintain the Contents of this Act: And therein was mentioned a List of the Marriages forbid by the Laws of God and Man; and that, if any such were then in being, they should be dissolved.

by the King ; among those, who fell a Sacrifice to the new Laws, wherein the King was declared Head of the Church, were Sir *Thomas More* and Bishop *Fisher* ; but the putting them to Death for this Matter was severely censured beyond Sea, and the Loss of them was greatly lamented by many in *England*.

Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher beheaded.

Queen *Catherine* ended her Days the Beginning of this Year, and we leave our Reader to collect her Character from what we have said before.

Queen Catherine's Death.
1536.

This Year a new Scene was opened that proved likewise fatal to those we are going to mention ; for as the Sun, that often rises most gloriously, sets in a Cloud ; in like Manner, Lady *Anna* had not been Queen above three Years and four Months, before the King fixed an amorous Eye upon the Lady *Jane Seymour*, and resolved to have her, and get rid of *Anna* : But a Divorce would not do, not having the Pretexts as in his former Marriage ; therefore on *May-day*, the King being at *Greenwich*, (where there was a solemn Just, in which *George Viscount Rochford*, the Queen's Brother, was chief Challenger, and *Harry Norris* principal Defender) he suddenly left the Place, which greatly surprized the Company ; though some say, it was owing to the Queen's letting fall her Handkerchief, and its being taken up by one, supposed to be her Favourite, who wiped his Face therewith : However, as the King was gone, the Queen retired.

His Majesty, being arrived at *Westminster*, gave Orders in the first Place for siezing the Queen's Brother and *Norris*, and they were committed to the *Tower* : Then the Queen was apprehended in her Barge passing to *London*, and, as the Lords were carrying her towards the *Tower*, they informed her of the

Offence she was charged with. In answer she affirmed, she was wronged, and begged to see the King. This was refused, the Lords not having any such Commission. When she came into the *Tower* she fell upon her

Queen Anna committed to the Tower.

Knees, beseeching God to help her, as she was not guilty. — *William Brereton*, and another Gentleman of the King's Privy-chamber, with one *Mark Smeeten*, were also committed.

The Queen found it difficult to get even a Letter delivered to the King, Sir *William Kingston*, Constable of the *Tower*, at first refusing to carry it. However, on the 6th of *May*, he was prevailed upon to deliver the Letter.* But this made no Impression on the

* QUEEN ANNA BULLEYN's last Letter to KING HENRY.

‘ S I R,
‘ Y O U R Grace's Displea-
‘ sure, and my Imprison-
‘ ment, are Things so strange
‘ unto me, as what to write, or
‘ what to excuse, I am altoge-
‘ ther ignorant. Whereas you
‘ send unto me (willing me to
‘ confess a Truth, and so obtain
‘ your Favour) by such an one,
‘ whom you know to be mine
‘ antient professed Enemy, I no
‘ sooner received this Message
‘ by him, than I rightly con-
‘ ceived your Meaning; and if,
‘ as you say, confessing a Truth
‘ indeed may procure my Safety,
‘ I shall with all Willingness
‘ and Duty perform your Com-
‘ mand.

‘ But let not your Grace ever
‘ imagine, that your poor Wife
‘ will ever be brought to acknow-
‘ ledge a Fault, where not so

‘ much as a Thought thereof pre-
‘ ceded: And, to speak a Truth,
‘ never Prince had Wife more
‘ loyal in all Duty, and in all
‘ true Affection, than you ever
‘ found in *Ann Bulleyn*; with
‘ which Name and Place I could
‘ willingly have contented my-
‘ self, if God and your Grace's
‘ Pleasure had been so pleased.
‘ Neither did I at any time so
‘ far forget myself in my Ex-
‘ altation, or received Queen-
‘ ship, but that I always looked
‘ for such an Alteration as now I
‘ find: For the Ground of my
‘ Preferment being on no surer
‘ Foundation than your Grace's
‘ Fancy, the least Alteration, I
‘ knew, was fit and sufficient to
‘ draw that Fancy to some other
‘ Subject. You have chosen me,
‘ from a low Estate, to be your
‘ Queen and Companion, far be-
‘ yond

• The Manuscript is still extant in the *Cotton Library*. *Otho.* 10.

the King; for, *May* the 15th, she was arraigned in the *Tower*, and the Duke of *Norfolk* sitting as High Steward, assisted by the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and other Peers, (and among whom, as some affirm, even the Queen's Father appeared) she was found *guilty of defiling the King's Bed*. Her Brother also with the others were tried, &c. found guilty of Treason, and, on the 17th, executed.

*Arraigned
and convicted.*

*Her Brother,
&c.
executed.*

It seems the King had a mind to have made an Evidence of *Norris*, for whom he had some Kindness; but the Man declared he could not accuse the Queen, which being told the King, he cried out, *Hang him up then!*

‘ yond my Desert or Desire. If
‘ then you found me worthy of
‘ such Honour, good your Grace,
‘ let not any light Fancy, or bad
‘ Counsel of my Enemies, with-
‘ draw your princely Favours
‘ from me; neither let that Stain,
‘ that unworthy Stain, of a dis-
‘ loyal Heart towards your good
‘ Grace, ever cast so foul a Blot
‘ on your most dutiful Wife, and
‘ the Infant-princess your Daugh-
‘ ter. Try me, good King, but
‘ let me have a lawful Trial,
‘ and let not my sworn Enemies
‘ sit as my Accusers and Judges;
‘ yea, let me receive an open
‘ Trial, for my Truth shall fear
‘ no open Shame; then shall
‘ you see, either mine Innocence
‘ cleared, your Suspicion and
‘ Conscience satisfied, the Igno-
‘ miny and Slander of the World
‘ stopped, or my Guilt openly
‘ declared. So that, whatsoever
‘ God or you may determine
‘ of me, your Grace may be
‘ freed from an open Censure,

‘ and mine Offence being so law-
‘ fully proved, your Grace is at
‘ Liberty, both before God and
‘ Man, not only to execute wor-
‘ thy Punishment on me as an
‘ unlawful Wife, but to follow
‘ your Affection, already settled
‘ on that Party, for whose Sake
‘ I am now as I am, whose
‘ Name I could some good while
‘ since have pointed unto, your
‘ Grace being not ignorant of
‘ my Suspicion therein.

‘ But if you have already de-
‘ termined of me, and that not
‘ only my Death, but an infam-
‘ ous Slander must bring you
‘ the enjoying of your Happi-
‘ ness; then I desire of God,
‘ that he will pardon your great
‘ Sin therein, and likewise mine
‘ Enemies, the Instruments there-
‘ of; and that he will not call
‘ you to a strict Account for your
‘ unprincely and cruel Usage
‘ of me, at his general Judg-
‘ ment-seat, where both you and
‘ myself must shortly appear,

then! as he, to be sure, thought he justly deserved, who, for the Sake of *Truth*, would be so impudent as to spoil all his Measures, by hindering him from having a new Wife.

The Queen's Death, as a Mark of particular Favour, * (as it was then termed) was respited till the 19th, on which she was brought to a Scaffold erected in the Tower of *London*, where, before a large Company, among other Things, she said, *If any one intends an inquisitive Survey of my Actions, I intreat him to judge favourably of me, and not rashly to admit any hard, censorious Conceit.* Then, kneeling whilst

she was at Prayers, the Executioner struck
Herself be- off her Head with a Sword. Observe
headed.

how swift the Wheel of Providence turned round this Month!

The sudden Fall of this Lady made many call to

‘ and in whose Judgment I doubt
 ‘ not (whatsoever the World
 ‘ may think of me) mine Inno-
 ‘ cence shall be openly known,
 ‘ and sufficiently cleared.

‘ My last and only Request
 ‘ shall be, that myself may only
 ‘ bear the Burthen of your Grace's
 ‘ Displeasure, and that it may
 ‘ not touch the innocent Souls
 ‘ of those poor Gentlemen, who
 ‘ (as I understand) are likewise
 ‘ in strait Imprisonment for my
 ‘ Sake. If ever I have found
 ‘ Favour in your Sight, if ever
 ‘ the Name of *Ann Bulleyn* hath
 ‘ been pleasing in your Ears,
 ‘ then let me obtain this Re-
 ‘ quest, and I will so leave to
 ‘ trouble your Grace any fur-
 ‘ ther, with mine earnest Prayers
 ‘ to the *Trinity* to have your
 ‘ Grace in his good Keeping,
 ‘ and to direct you in all your
 ‘ Actions. From my doleful Pri-

son in the *Tower*, this 6th of
 ‘ May,

‘ Your most loyal,

‘ And ever faithful Wife,

‘ ANN BULLEYN.’

Mr. *Banks*, in his Tragedy of *Anna Bulleyn*, or *Virtue betray'd*, makes *Wolfey* to be the Author of the Disgrace and Death of this Queen: Whereas nothing is more notorious, than that the Fact was quite otherwise; for the Cardinal had been gone to his quiet Repose near six Years before this. Therefore we presume, this *Tragedian* must have picked up this Piece of Slander from some infamous Defamer, such as *Polydor Virgil*, *Rapin*, and other Writers of the same Stamp.

* Great Favour truly, condemned the 15th.

to mind her Behaviour to *Wolfey* in his Adversity, her Case at last proving worse than his, he only dying under his *undeserved* Afflictions, but she by the Hands of a vile Executioner; though, perhaps *falsely accused* too. But no sooner was she dispatched than the *Lady Jane Seymour* was in Possession of her Royal Bed.

Lady Jane the King's third Wife.

The People in general were greatly discontented at seeing so many Religious Houses, which were had in high Veneration, destroyed; and the Nobility and Gentry took it ill, that the King should have the Lands belonging thereto; for by this Means they were deprived of the Conveniency of providing for their younger Children, and of being well entertained when they travelled. The Poor murmured still louder, because Multitudes lived by the Alms which were daily distributed by those Houses. The Devout thought the Souls of their Ancestors must now lie in Purgatory, since so many Masses, that were to be said for their Deliverance, were abolished by the Suppression of the Monasteries.

The People generally discontented.

The Court hearing of this, by *Cromwell's* Advice, the King speedily endeavoured to allay in some measure these Discontents, by selling the Lands at very easy Rates, and obliging the Purchasers under a Penalty to keep up the wonted Hospitality. *

The King sells the Lands.

Notwithstanding this a Rebellion broke out in *Lincolnshire*, headed by Dr. *Mac-karel*, Prior of *Barking*, and the Revolters immediately sent an Account of their Grievances to the Court, which related to the Suppression of the Religious Houses, as well as other Innovations. To which the King answered by a Manifesto; the Duke of

A Rising in Lincolnshire.

* We cannot say how the Purchasers first behaved, but it is very certain, that Time has worn out the Custom.

of *Suffolk*, who was employed to suppress the Rebellion, finding himself too weak to encounter them, entered into a Negotiation with the Heads, instead of fighting; and, upon the King's granting them a Pardon, the Uproar was appeased.

Appeased upon Terms.

A second Revolt.

This was no sooner effected, but another broke out in *Yorkshire*, of a much more dangerous Nature, headed by one *Aske*, a Man of Authority and great Abilities. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* mustered his Forces in the King's Behalf, but he was not able to Stop their Progress; for they took not only *York* but *Hull*, and their Chief even obliged the Archbishop of *York* and the Lord *D'Arcy* to accompany him.

The Duke of *Norfolk* also marched to oppose the Revolt, but, his Forces being much inferior to them, he took the same Method as the Duke of *Suffolk* had done, by entering into a Treaty with them, and a Conference was held on both Sides at *Doncaster*, and this at last happily ended, they accepted of a Pardon, and the King promising to redress their Grievance, every Man returned to his House, and the King to taking the most effectual Measures for suppressing all the Religious Houses.

Suppressed.

As the King broke his Word with his People, by not calling a Parliament in the *North*, according to Promise, a new Insurrection was raised in *Yorkshire*. Upon this *Aske*, who commanded the Malecontents, was ordered to Court, and well received; but the Lord *D'Arcy*, who had received the like Order, not attending so soon as was expected, was sent to the Tower.

Breaks out again. 1537.

Shortly after two Gentlemen of the *North*, *Nicholas Musgrave* and *Thomas Tilby*, put themselves at the Head of 8000 People, and appeared before *Carlisle*, which they endeavoured to take.

Suppressed, and many executed.

deavoured to take ; but, being suddenly attacked by the Duke of *Norfolk*, they were entirely routed, and, though *Musgrave* had the good Fortune to escape, *Tilby* and seventy-four others were taken and hanged on the Walls of *Carlisle*.

Sir *Francis Bigod* and another with a Body of People attempted at the same Time to surprize *Hull*; but their Leaders were made Prisoners, and soon after executed.

“ These Proceedings so angered the King, says *Rapin*, “ that, notwithstanding he had granted a Pardon to those concerned in the first *Yorkshire* Rebellion, he caused to be executed the Lord *D’Arcy*, “ *Aske*, and six of the Family of *Kildare*, in order “ to strike a Terror into the *Irish*, they seeming at “ this Time much inclinable to rebel:” But the youngest Son of the Earl of *Kildare* had the Luck to escape, and fled for Refuge to Cardinal *Pole*, who was likewise under the King’s high Displeasure.

Aske, having left the Court without Leave, was taken, executed, and hanged in Chains ; the Lord *D’Arcy* was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, the Lord *Hussy* at *Lincoln*, who was no less than eighty Years old ; Sir *Robert Constable* suffered at *Hull*, Sir *John Bulmer*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas West*, and *William Kumley* at *Tyburn* ; and *Margaret Cheney*, alias *Lady Bulmer*, was burnt in *Smithfield*.

On the 18th of Oct. Queen *Jane* died in Child-bed of Prince *Edward*, (afterwards King *Edward* the VIth) and for his Queen’s Death the King expressed great Concern, a new *Love-fit* being not yet come on him.

Prince Edward born, and the Queen dies.

His Majesty, having caused his near Kinsman, *Reginald Pole*, to be educated in *Corpus Christi* College, *Oxford*, and made him Dean of *Exeter*, for his further Education sent him to study at *Padua*, and allowed him

Reginald Pole educated at the King’s Expence.

him a handsome Pension : But no sooner did the King break with the Pope than *Pole* entered the List, and wrote a Book in Defence of his Holiness, which so chagrined his Majesty, that he sent to complain of it to his Mother in very severe Terms, and at the same Time sent a Messenger to command him to return to *England*. Upon this *Pole's* Mother wrote him a Letter, * the Original of which is preserved in the *Exchequer Record-office*) and, as her Son did not comply with her Request, the King not only withdrew the Pension he allowed him, but also got him condemned in Form for High Treason.

Made a Cardinal. After this he retired to a *Venetian* Monastery, where he was treated with the greatest Respect both by the Court of *Rome* and the *Venetians*, being made a Cardinal, after which he continued Abroad till the Death of *Henry* the VIIIth.

It

* ' SON REGINALD,

' I Send you God's Blessing,
' more of my Charity than
' of your Deserving. Where my
' Hope and Trust was in God
' to have Comfort of you, the
' same by your Demeanour is
' turned into Sorrow. Alas! that
' you should ever be the Cause
' that I, bearing towards you so
' motherly and tender a Heart,
' as I have done, should for
' your Folly receive from my
' sovereign Lord such Message,
' as I have lately done by your
' Brother; to whom, being a
' Woman, his Highness has
' shewed such Mercy and Pity,
' which never lay in my Power,

' by no Service that I could do,
' to deserve: But trusting that
' my Children should, by their
' Service, do some Part of my
' bounden Duty for me; and
' now to see you in his Grace's
' high Indignation, unless God
' shew his Power upon me, I
' am not able to bear it. Trust
' me, *Reginald*, there went ne-
' ver the Death of thy Father,
' or of any Child so nigh my
' Heart, as this hath done:
' Wherefore, upon my Blessing,
' I charge thee to call thy Spi-
' rits to thee, and to take ano-
' ther Way, and serve our Ma-
' ster, as thy bounden Duty is
' to do, unless thou wilt be
' the Confusion of thy Mother.
' You

It cannot be denied but in this King's Reign the Ground-work of the *Reformation* was laid, yet it must be owned, after *Wolsey's* Disgrace, it was ushered in by the Blood of many a sincere Heart. It was a common Thing to have *Protestants* burned one Day for denying *the real Presence in the Sacrament*, and the *Papists* hanged and quartered the next, for denying *the King's Supremacy*: Nay, at the same Time and Place, that three *Protestant* Divines suffered the Torments of the merciless Fire, three *Popish* Doctors were hanged; which made a *Frenchman* cry out, *Good God! how do the People make a Shift to live, where Papists are hanged and Antipapists are burnt?*

Henry's bloody Reformation.

Baker relates, "That Mr. *Lambert*, being accused of denying the real Presence in the Sacrament, appealed to the King, who was content to hear him. Whereupon a Throne was set up in the Hall of the Palace at *Westminster* for his Majesty's Reception. When the Bishops had urged their Arguments, and " could

The King turns Disputant.

' You writ of a Promise made
' of you to God. Son, that was
' to serve God and thy Prince,
' whom if thou do not serve
' with all thy Wit, with all thy
' Power, I know thou cannot
' please God, and your bounden
' Duty is so to do above all
' other: For who has brought
' you up and maintained you to
' Learning but his Highness,
' whom if you will not with
' your Learning serve, to the
' Contentation of his Mind, as
' your bounden Duty is, trust
' never in me; and that you may
' so serve his Highness, I shall
' daily pray to give you Grace,
' and to make you his Servant,

' else take you to his Mercy.'

Upon the Death of Pope *Paul* the IIIId, *Pole* was at Midnight chosen to succeed him, but he refused it, saying, *It was a Work of Darknes*; and the next Morning he found *Julius* the IIIId in his Place. Queen *Mary*, upon her succeeding to the Crown, got him preferred to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and then he returned to *England*: But he died the very same Day Queen *Mary* did, *November* the 17th, 1558, and was generally stiled, *The modest and learned Cardinal*, and wrote several valuable Pieces now extant.

“ could not prevail, then the King took him in
 “ Hand, hoping perhaps to have the Honour of con-
 “ verting an *Heretick*, when the Bishops could not
 “ do it; and withal promised him Pardon, if he would
 “ recant: But all would not do, for he remained ob-
 “ stinate; the King missed his Honour, and the De-
 “ linquent his Pardon, being shortly after drawn to
 “ *Smithfield*, and burnt.” Two others also were burnt
 for the same Cause much about the same Time.

*Preferments
 heaped on
 Cromwell.*

1537.

It was now a Thing grown common for the King to raise Persons up to great Honour, that their Fall might be the greater. *Cromwell* was created a Baron, next Lord Privy Seal, and Earl of *Essex*, Knt. of the Garter, Vice-regent-general of the King's Authority in Ecclesiastical Affairs, sitting in Convocation among the Bishops, and ever presiding over them; though he was a mighty Promoter of the *Reformation*, and, perceiving the King had a mind to suppress all the Monasteries in general, (not so much out of Zeal for Religion as for the Lucre of their Revenues) he countenanced him in it. As the King and his Minister found, from the Rebellions that had arisen on the Suppression of the lesser Monasteries, that the Nation was generally disturbed, though the King had got an Act of Parliament for what he had in View, *Cromwell* advised his Majesty not to take that Way at first, but to proceed upon a general Visitation of them. This being approved of, Commissions issued accordingly, and few were found so guiltless as to dare to withstand their Proceedings, and the Licentiousness of the rest was so artfully divulged, that at last they were every where rendered so odious to the People, that never any Undertaking of so great Consequence, and so full of Hazard, was so easily accomplished, as his general Subversion of our *English* Monasteries.

Cromwell

Cromwell further prevailed with the King to suppress the *Worshipping of Images*, whereby, he said, *God was robbed of his due Honour*, which the pious King would by no means suffer; yet, on the other hand, nothing but Persecutions were for some time carried on against such as did not assent to the new Establishment; for this Year was principally employed in burning *Protestants* and hanging *Papists*, who refused complying therewith.

The following Year our unhappy Country was likewise sprinkled with the Blood of several worthy Men, and the Marquis of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and Lord *Montacute*, a Knight, with two Priests and a Mariner were condemned, and all executed for Treason; but Sir *Geoffrey Pool* found Means to obtain a Pardon, which was a Favour the King rarely granted to those that transgressed his new Law.

Marquis of Exeter and others beheaded.

1539.

The last Executions had not been over long before Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Knt. of the Garter, and one that had been a great Favourite with our Monarch, suffered the unhappy Fate of the above Lords, being beheaded for Treason: And the next Man that fell a Victim to his Master's Passion was *Cromwell* himself, though he continued to do every thing he thought would please the King.

Sir Nicholas Carew beheaded.

Notwithstanding immense Sums had been brought into the King's Coffers from the Destruction of the Religious Houses, our open-fisted Prince did not keep it long there, for he was as lavish in squandering it away, as he had been eager in having it collected; and, as the King conceived he had but little Occasion for *Cromwell*, he suffered him to be arrested at the Council-table, and carried to the Tower, to the great Rejoicing, says a Person of Honour, of the Popish Party, and most of the Nobility, who hated him, because, from a

Cromwell committed to the Tower.

mean Original the King had advanced him to so great Honour. But Cromwell's Crime was that of dashing against the Rock on which two before had split ; the King, pretending more than ordinary Love for Queen Jane, had not so soon provided himself with another Wife as he had been used to do ; and Cromwell, willing to strengthen the Reformation, advised the King to marry

Ann of Cleve,
the King's 4th
Wife.

1540.

Ann, the Sister of the Duke of Cleve, which Marriage took at first ; but, after six Months Cohabitation, this Lady was repudiated ; and, instead of the Title of Queen, was forced to be contented with that of the King's adopted Sister. The Cause for the Divorce of this Lady was diversly spoken of, but three in particular forwarded it much : *First*, The King, having taken her unseen, found himself mistaken in her Beauty,

Does not like
her.

for, it seems, Nature in that respect had not been very bountiful to her. *Secondly*, Some natural Defect in this Lady was a Bar to Enjoyment, which seems probable from her own Confessions ; for in a Letter, wherein she submits herself to the Judgment of the Parliament, she affirms, the King never knew her carnally. *Thirdly*, The King had another in his Eye, which he fancied better, who was the Lady Catherine Howard. Now Cromwell, having been the Promoter of the Match with Ann, and the King having a mind to Catherine, who, looking upon Cromwell as a Hindrance to her Advancement, became his Enemy, and persuaded the King to get rid of him ; and, though the

Cromwell im-
peached.

Crimes objected against him were capital, yet, not being permitted to speak for himself, the Proceedings against him cannot but be thought extreamly rigorous. In short, the Accusations against him were chiefly for an Usurpation of Power, in setting at Liberty certain Persons not entitled to it ; granting certain Licences, and making several Commissions in high Affairs, without

without the King's Knowledge; of being an Heretick, and a Favourer of them; but that the Head of the Church, the Vicegerent in spiritual Affairs, should be an Heretick seems very inconsistent: Though these were only pretended Crimes, to put the better Colour on the King's Injustice, his Mistress hated him, and the King resolved he should die; accordingly he was beheaded on *Tower-hill*

And beheaded.

on the 28th of *June*, 1540: Dying with great Presence of Mind, professing himself upon the Scaffold a true *Catholick Christian*, which being a general Term, it is uncertain whether he meant of the *Romish* or *Reformed* Communion. However, the King carried his Resentment no further; for, before the End of the Year, he created *Cromwell's* Son a Lord, and restored his Father's Estate to him.

On the 30th of *July* six Priests were drawn upon Hurdles to *Smithfield*, where three were burnt, being charged with *Heresy*; and the other three, being charged with Treason, were hanged, drawn and quartered.

More Executions.

Soon after the Lord *Leonard Gray*, who was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was recalled from thence, sent to the *Tower*, and the next Year was beheaded for Treason.

On the 4th of *August* no less than seven Persons were executed, for denying the King's Supremacy.

Blood and *Lust* went hand in hand; for, whilst these Executions were carrying on, the King married the Lady *Catherine Howard*, and on the 8th of *August* she was publicly shewed as Queen, which Honour she neither enjoyed long; for, on the 12th of *February*, 1541, she was likewise beheaded for Adultery, which she confessed.

Catherine Howard, the King's 5th Wife.

Executed for Adultery.

So that the Reader may here observe, that *Catherine* and *Ann* were the Ruin of both Master and Servant; that in less than

Some Reflections on what passed.

ten

ten Years *Henry* had five Wives ; and, what is more remarkable, that *Anna Bulleyn*, who was the Ruin of Cardinal *Wolsey*, *Cromwell's* Master, was afterwards brought to the Block ; that *Catherine Howard*, who was the Ruin of *Cromwell*, met with the same Fate, being accused, condemned, and executed for the same Crime, though perhaps not both equally guilty.

Another Insurrection.

The Severities that had been shewn to both *Papists* and *Protestants* raised a general Discontent throughout the Kingdom, which caused a Revolt in *Yorkshire* ; but it was soon quelled, and, Sir *John Nevill*, with several other Gentlemen and Yeoman, were executed at *York*.

Countess of Salisbury butchered.

But this did not satisfy the King, for he caused the aged Countess of *Salisbury* to be sent to the Tower, it being Crime sufficient for her to be of the House of *York* ; though she was attainted of Treason, yet beheaded without being heard.

An odd Act of Parliament.
1542.

Notwithstanding all this the King's Mind still run upon marrying again ; but, as he had such bad Luck with his Wives, the Parliament took the same into Consideration ; and, to prevent any more such Disasters, they caused it to be enacted, " That, if the King " should happen to marry a Woman that had been before incontinent, if she concealed the same, it should be deemed High Treason." But this Act, however well intended, did the King a Diskindness ; for (so few chose

The Ladies highly displeased at it.

to run the Hazard of entering into the Bands of Matrimony with him, who had got such a Knack of dissolving them, knowing in what a slippery State they must be in, if he, after receiving them to his Bed, should, through any Mistake, declare them no Maids) our Ladies at home refused his Courtship ; however, the King wanting a Wife, he was pleased to look Abroad

broad for one this Time ; for which Purpose he sent an Ambaffador to demand the Princess *Christiana*, * Sister to the King of *Denmark*, in Marriage, and withal writ her a Letter with his own Hand. The Princess answered the Letter, wherein
 “ she thanked the King for the Honour designed her,
 “ which she would gladly have accepted, had she
 “ been so happy as to have had two Heads ; but, as
 “ she had but one, she hoped the King would ex-
 “ cuse her for declining the Honour, being willing
 “ to keep that on her Shoulders.”

A foreign Princess re- fuses the King's Court- ship.

The King, finding himself disappointed Abroad, fixed at last upon a Widow at Home, the Lady *Catherine Parr*, who being indeed a Lady of Integrity and Worth, and of Maturity of Years, he lived after Marriage well with her in Appearance ; but, towards the End of the King's Life, she was in great Danger of losing hers ; not for *Adultery*, but for a Crime he used to punish as severely, *Heresy*, of which she was much suspected by *Stephen Gardiner*, and others of the same Kidney ; in which, by the King's Consent, they had proceeded so far against the Queen, as to procure a Warrant to carry her to the *Tower* ; but her prudent Submission to the King took off the Edge of his Anger, and thereby not only prevented the Edge of the Ax coming too near her, but defeated the Designs of her Enemies.

A Widow, his 6th Wife. 1543.

She is impeach- ed for Heresy.

These Years *Henry* continued to spend his Time in hanging *Papists* and burning *Prote- stants* that did not comply with the Acts and Orders he caused to be made for supporting his violent Measures.

1544.

1545.

About this Time the King was employed in carry- ing

* Whose Picture is still in the Royal Palace at *Hampton-court*.

ing on a War both against *France* and *Scotland*; but he soon clapt up a Peace with both Nations.

The Year 1546 was ushered in with *The Duke of Norfolk and his Son in Custody.* spilling more Blood, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, one of *Wolsey's* most inveterate Enemies, now felt the Effects of his Master's *reforming* Spirit; for he was committed to the *Tower*, as well as his Son, the most learned and noble Earl of *Surry*, who was tried and convicted of what was called Treason in those Times, and, some Days before the King's Death, was beheaded, as would likewise have been the Father, had not that Exit prevented it.

Burnet, and other Authors have indeed talked of *Wolsey's* abject Behaviour on his Disgrace; but, give us Leave to say, no Man could behave with a meaner Submission than the Duke of *Norfolk* did upon his being sent to the *Tower*; for Proof of which see *Lord Herbert's* History, in which is likewise the following among many other Confessions.

I Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, do confess and acknowledge myself most untruly, and contrary to my Oath and Allegiance, to have offended the King's most excellent Majesty in the disclosing and opening of his privy Letters, and Counsels, at divers and sundry Times, to divers and sundry Persons, to the great Peril of his Highness, and disappointing of his most prudent and royal Affairs.

T. N.

Could as much be ever found against *Wolsey*? If a Soldier behaved thus under Misfortunes, why should we wonder at a *faithful Minister's* being uneasy, when his ungrateful Master was about to deliver him over to the Mercy of his Enemies?

The Duke of *Suffolk*, it is true, by his complying with the King in all his Humours, had the good Fortune to die in his Bed.

That

That *Henry* was a Bloody King the many Executions, he caused to be made after he had dismissed his most prudent and humane Minister, fully testify. Even the Death of *Empson* and *Dudley*, at the Beginning of his Reign, reflect Dishonour upon him, notwithstanding it was done by the Command of his Father, whose Coffers had been filled by their Iniquities. But far less Cause had he to put to Death *Edmund de la Pole*, who had been made Prisoner by *Henry* the VIIth, though Reasons of State might colour it. For the same bad Reasons also was *Margaret*, Countess of *Salisbury*, Daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the IVth, though seventy Years of Age, condemned without a Hearing, and beheaded; because, forsooth, there had been a Rebellion in *Yorkshire*, and the King thought they had a Respect for this aged Countess, who was of the Blood Royal of the House of *York*. The like Kindness he also shewed to the Marquis of *Exeter*, his first Cousin on the Mother's Side, being the Son of *Catherine*, Daughter to King *Edward* the IVth; and it was observable of *Henry*, the longer he reigned the more cruel he grew, and the more Blood he shed.

A Recapitulation of the King's Actions.

To sum up all, in this King's Reign there fell two Queens, two Cardinals, (for Cardinal *Pole* stood condemned, though not apprehended) two Dukes, Marquises, Earls, and Earl Sons 12, Barons and Knights 18, which could not but much irritate the temporal Nobility; of Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Monks, and Priests, no less than 77, which as much incensed the Clergy against him; "and of the more Common Sorts, (says Lord *Herbert*) "between one Religion and the other, "huge Multitudes." And, having offended his *Roman Catholick* Subjects by disowning the See of *Rome*, and his *Protestant* Subjects by rejecting the *Reformation*, he was brought at last to that unhappy Period to leave

A Recital of his Cruelties.

the Crown to a Child, whose Condition was like to prove as uncertain under the Government of a Protector, as the Kingdom had latterly been under his, which, in case the Issue of the young Prince failed, was to descend to his Sisters successively, of whose Legitimacy, Religion, and Title there were as many Scruples before they came to their Sovereignty, as their Father had conceived, in Point of Conscience, or Honour, before he parted from their Mothers. As no Man could measure his Happiness by his Greatness, so neither can they take any Scantling of his Greatness by any Thing the World calls Happiness. In short, *Henry* was in the latter Part of his Life as much hated, and feared, as he was in the first Part

His Death and Burial.

honoured, revered, and loved. On the 28th of *Jan.* 1547, he died, and was buried at *Windsor*.

His Character delineated.

“ To say much of him (as an *Anonymus Writer* has it) “ were to make you
 “ surfeit; Sir *Walter Rawleigh*’s Testi-
 “ mony of him is sufficient. If the Pictures and Pat-
 “ terns of a merciless Prince were lost in the World,
 “ they might all again be painted to the Life out
 “ of the Story of this King. His vast Expence of
 “ Treasure and profuse Bloodshed made this King-
 “ dom look with a ghastly Face; and, to express him
 “ fully, this remains with him to everlasting, *That*
 “ *he never spared Man in his Anger, nor Woman in*
 “ *his Lust.*”





*MEMOIRS of FRANCIS the
1st, KING of FRANCE.*



It is surprizing to find this Prince, though little favoured by Fortune, ill used by his own Mother, abandoned to imprudent Favourites, and betrayed by those, whom he honoured with his most secret Friendship, could so gloriously resist the Emperor *Charles*, whose Dominions were much larger than *France*, who had more Men and Money, was a greater Warriour, a very artful Politician, and served with Fidelity and Skill by his Generals and Ministers, and who was assisted, either by the King of *England* or other powerful Princes. Though we cannot help being of Opinion, if *Henry* had not took part with *Francis*, after the Battle of *Pavia*, pursuant to *Wolsey's* Advice, that *Charles* would have overturned the *French* Monarchy, and after that very likley might have totally destroyed the Liberties of *Europe*.

The most powerful Princes of the Empire this Year entered into a defensive League against the Emperor, to which they desired the Accession of *Francis*, who not only engaged in it himself, but prevailed on *Henry* the VIIIth to accede thereto.

*New League
between Francis
and the P.
of the Empire.
1531.*

In Consequence of this Treaty, *Henry* and *Francis* had an Interview at *Bologna*, near *Calais*, Oct. the 28th, when it was agreed, "That, in case the *Turks*

*An Interview
between Henry
and Francis.*

"should attack *Hungary*, whilst the *German* Princes
"should be engaged against the Emperor, they

“ would raise and maintain a considerable Army in
 “ Hungary at their common Expence.”

Francis annexes
 Brittany to his
 Kingdom.

1532.

The King this Year took a Journey into *Brittany*, when the States of the Country consented to unite that Dutchy as a Province to the Crown of *France** for ever, upon certain Conditions, after a Conference had been held on that Head.

It was observed about this Time, that, from the End of the Year 1528, to the Beginning of the Year 1534, the Seasons in *France* were so exceedingly irregular, that they produced almost a general Famine, and at last a Plague, by which one third of the People perished.

Interview be-
 tween the Pope
 and Francis,

1533.

In *October* this Year the Pope in his Gallies arrived at *Marseilles*, and there was magnificently entertained by the King, who upon this Occasion shewed his usual Generosity to the Cardinals; “ And made “ the Beauty of his Mind (says a *French* Writer) to “ outshine the Lustre of his Gifts:” They parted the 22d of *Nov.* well satisfied with each other, after the Pope had been pleased to dispose of four Cardinal’s Hats in Favour of *Francis’s* Recommendation.

Who refuses to
 break with the
 Pope.

1534.

King *Henry* very much solicited the King to break with the Pope, but *Francis* refused it, saying, *I am a Friend to the Altar.*

Enters into a
 new War with
 Italy.

1535.

But still his Mind run upon making Conquests in *Italy*, and therefore, turning his Eye upon *Milan*, raised a Pretence to quarrel with Duke *Sforza*; but, the Duke of *Savoy* denying him a Passage through his Country, he drew a Storm upon himself; for King *Francis* immediately sent an Army to invade *Savoy*, under the Command of Admiral *Brion*.

This

* See Vol. I. p. 104, 105.

This General was no sooner come into *Savoy*, but all the Places on this Side Mount *Cenis* opened their Gates to the *French*. The Duke, understanding that the Emperor was gone upon an Expedition to *Tunis*, endeavoured to ward off the Storm, (having not Troops sufficient to make Head against the *French*) by offering several Concessions to them, which he at first refused to give, and they at this Time to accept of: And, what made the Duke's Affairs much worse, his People, being greatly dissatisfied with his Government, revolted and took part with the *French*. In this Distress, as the *French* were over-running his Country, he ordered the Pass of *Suze* to be guarded, in hopes to stop their Progress; but, it being resolved on too late, the *French* continued their March and came before *Turin*, which immediately surrendered, and the poor Duke was obliged to fly to *Vercell*.

On the 8th of *July*, *Anthony Duprat*, *The French Cardinal Legate and Chancellor in France,* died, "Much tormented, says *Mizeray*, *Chancellor dies.*" "with Remorse of Conscience, as his Sighs and "Speeches made manifest; for, having observed "no other Guide or Law but his own Interest, and "the Passion of his Sovereign, it was he that took "away the Election to Benefices, and the Privileges of many Churches; it was he that produced the Sale of Offices in Courts of Judicature, "and that taught them boldly to lay all Sorts of "Impositions on the Subjects." And, we are sorry to say it, the same bad Disposition has much prevailed in our own Country.

His Post of Chancellor was given to *Anne du Bourg*, who lost his Life, in the *A new one appointed.* Year 1538, after a very odd Manner; being with the King, who made his Entrance into *Laon*, there was such a great Croud of Horses that he was thrust off his Mule, and trod under foot, where he died, and

and this high Office was immediately given to *Charles Poyet*, Prefident of the Parliament.

*Duke of Milan
dies without
Issue.*

1536.

In the mean time Duke *Sforza* of *Milan* died without leaving any Children behind him, and, being the last of the famous and unfortunate *Sforza* Family, the Emperor took Possession of the Dutchy, and, having it now in his Power, he made use of it afterwards as a Bait and Amusement, to allure *Francis* the Remainder of his Life, tho' he never intended he should have it.

*The Emperor
arrives at
Rome.*

The Emperor, on the Return from his Expedition to *Tunis*, repaired to the City of *Rome*, where he was very grandly entertained by that Court; and, being informed what *Francis* had been doing in *Savoy*, in his Absence, he expressed great Resentment; nay, he was in

*The Emperor
challenges to
fight K. Fran-
cis.*

such a Fury, that, in the Presence of the Pope, the Court of *Rome*, and the *French* Ambassadors, he offered (to prevent any further Effusion of Blood) to decide the Quarrel between him and *Francis*, by a single Combat, in an Island, on a Bridge, or in a Boat. — Bold Warriors indeed! — “But the *French* Ambassadors, says a wise Historian, had the good Sense not to inform their Master of it, so that this Challenge likewise subsided.”

*The Empe-
ror invades
France.*

But after this, when the Emperor had got his own Forces together, with the Assistance of several *Italian* Princes, he actually invaded *France* in Person, threatening nothing but Fire and Sword, and began with besieging *Marseilles*; though, meeting with a Repulse, he was at last obliged to raise the Siege, and retire.

*Francis pro-
claims the Em-
peror a Rebel.*

1537.

The next Year *Francis* in his Turn fell upon the Emperor, but not by way of Challenge; he took the Means of Law,

Law, summoning *Charles* as his Vassal, to do Homage for the Counties of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Charalois*, which he held of the Crown of *France*: This the Emperor not thinking proper to comply with, *Francis* caused him to be proclaimed a Rebel; but, before this Year expired, both Princes begun to be in a better Humour with each other.

For an Interview between *Charles* and *Francis* was agreed on at *Nice*, which was brought about by the Pope, who was present, and mediated a Truce between them for 20 Years, which put an end to the War.

At last become Friends.
1538.

King *Francis*, having by this restored Peace to his Country, made several excellent Edicts, particularly one, "That Curates should keep a Register of all Christnings;" which the *French* Authors allow was taken from the *English*, who had set up the same Course by the Advice of the great Lord *Cromwell*.

King Francis makes several good Edicts.

The Emperor, having an Occasion to go into *Spain*, obtained a Permission to pass through *France*, the King giving Orders, that his *Imperial* Majesty should be most honourably received at every City, and that he might exercise the same Authority as himself.

The Emperor passes through France.
1539.

January the 1st, the Emperor made his publick Entry into *Paris* in great State, the two Sons of *France* riding on each Side of him; and, at his Departure, the King accompanied him to *St. Quintin*, and the young Princes as far as *Valenciennes*.

Makes his Entry into Paris.
1540.

The Emperor solicited the King to restore the Duke of *Savoy* to his Territories, which *Francis* at last complied with. But he soon grew jealous of those about him, and, though three Noblemen had principally engrossed his Favour, the Constable, the Car-

France governed by Favourites
1541.

Cardinal of *Lorain*, and Admiral *Brion*; yet the last, having got the Start of the other two, they contrived to ruin him, got him imprisoned, and, by the Means of Chancellor *Poyet*, was brought to his Trial, by which he was so far condemned, that he was divested of his Offices, and declared unworthy of holding any for the future, fined 70,000 Crowns, and shut up in the *Bastile*.

*Admiral Brion
dies of Grief.
1552.*

Some Months after the Admiral obtained a Review of the Cause, and was cleared from the Charge brought against him; but, being a Man of a haughty Spirit, the Affront stuck so close to him, that he died of Grief before the Year expired.

*The Chancellor
disgraced.*

The Chancellor not long after had his Turn, and was disgraced, occasioned by his refusing to set the Seals to an Order, for removing a Cause from one Court to another; and, his Conduct being examined into, he was found so faulty, that he was first stript of his Office, and then confined to the Tower of *Bourges*,* from whence he obtained his Liberty on no other Terms, than giving up his All for his Ransom. At

Dies for Want.

last he died in the City of *Paris*, oppressed with Poverty, Ignomy, and old Age; so unhappy, that, even in this lamentable Condition, he was not pitied. This is not an improper *Mirroure* for great Men to see in what slippery Places they stand. Though, with Pleasure we can say upon examining the Accounts, given by the *English* Historians of our Lord Chancellors for above 200 Years, they have generally behaved worthy that high Office.

*The Constable
disgraced.*

As to the Constable, his Favour with the King did not last long after *Poyet's* Disgrace, for his Majesty soon forbid him

* The same Place where *Lewis* his being taken Prisoner at the D. of *Orleans*, afterwards *Lewis* memorable Battle of *St. Albins*, the XIIth, was confined, upon See Vol. I.

him the Court, and never more recalled him. Upon these Alterations he intrusted his Affairs with Cardinal *Turnon* and Admiral *Annebant*, Persons of no extraordinary Genius, but of Affection less interested, and wholly devoted to their Master.

Though the Emperor and *Francis* had been reconciled this Year, yet *Charles* joined with *England* against *France*, and both declared War; so that each Prince turned his Mind to making the necessary Preparations.

The Emperor and Francis fall out.
1543.

In Consequence of this *Henry* the VIIIth landed at *Calais*, at the Head of 30,000 Men, and begun his Operations by laying Siege to *Bologn*, which he took, and then returned to *England*.

Henry and Francis at War.
1544.

The King of *France* employed part of this Year in endeavouring to recover *Bologn* by Force of Arms, but he miscarried, which put him upon projecting to attack King *Henry* in his own Kingdom, and for that Purpose fitted out a Fleet: But this Way of proceeding did not by any means answer what was proposed, (for *Free Britons* were ever alarmed at a *French* Government) which caused *Francis* seriously to think of settling the Matters in Difference with the *English* in an amicable Way.

The War continued.
1545.

This Year a Peace was made between *Henry* and *Francis*, by which the *French* was to pay 800,000 Crowns to the *English*, who agreed thereon to restore *Bologn*, &c.

Peace restored.
1546.

The latter Years of *Francis's* Life were grievous to him, the Remembrance of the Misfortunes, which the ill Conduct of his Ministers had brought upon him, plunged him into a deep Melancholy, though some Authors relate, that the Occasion of this moody

A Recapitulation of Francis's Actions.

Disposition was a Disease he caught from one of his Mistresses. It seems he fell in Love with the Wife of a noted Counsellor in *Paris*, a very beautiful and graceful Woman, who could not be prevailed upon to indulge the King's Wishes, but dismissed him with very harsh Words, which grieved the King exceedingly. But some of the Pimps Royal hearing of it, they told the King, that he might force her away by his Authority. Upon this one of them informed the Lady, who imparted it to her Husband. The Counsellor, perceiving that both himself and his Wife would be obliged to leave the Kingdom, and were not sure of escaping unless they obeyed the Monarch, at last gave his Wife leave to indulge the King in all his Wishes, and, that he might be no Obstacle, pretended to have Business in the Country for eight or ten Days. In the mean time he kept himself private in *Paris*, and, by frequenting Bawdy-houses, endeavoured to catch the *Venereal* Disease, in order to give it his Wife, that she might infect the King. He soon found what he sought, effectually infected his Wife, the King caught the Distemper of her, and he gave it afterwards to several of his Mistresses, though himself was never thoroughly cured; for, during the Remainder of his Days, he was unhealthy, peevish, troublesome, and inaccessible.

His Children also brought great Afflictions upon him; his eldest Son, who was called after his own Name, was poisoned with somewhat infused into a Cup of Water, and died in the Castle of *Turnon*, the Loss of whom gave *Francis* great Uneasiness. His second swayed the Sceptre after him by the Name of *Henry* the II^d, who afflicted his Father greatly, not only in holding a Correspondence with *Montmorency*, who was in Disgrace, but by making a Cabal against the Dutches D'Estampes,

Some

Some Persons of good Sense are of Opinion, that the bare Competition between *Charles* and *Francis*, was more than sufficient for the *Protestants* to support themselves ; and that the Reason why *Luther* had succeeded better than many *Reformers*, his Predecessors, was, because he made his Appearance under the favourable Auspices of those two great Princes thwarting one another, who favoured this new Sect alternately ; and, when it was settled in *Germany*, it sent such Succours to the *Calvinists* in *France*, as were sufficient to enable them to keep their Ground.

Francis made a Regulation throughout his Dominions which deserves remarking, for he abolished the carrying on the Proceedings of Law in a different Language from that of his Kingdom, which had been to that Time in *Latin* ; * and this became so much corrupted that it was scarce known but by the Terminations of the Words. *Varillas*, the Historian, observes, “ That Chancellor *Poyet* had procured “ this Reformation in the Proceedings a little before “ his Fall : ” But *Germany* had been reformed in this Particular near three Centuries before ; for the Emperor, *Rodolphus* the 1st, moved by various Complaints of the *German* Empire, finding himself as it were under the Yoke of foreign Secretaries, whom he was forced to employ, to the great Prejudice of his Affairs, because they often betrayed him, held a Diet at *Nuremberg*, Anno 1252, in which it was enacted,

E e e 2

with

* In like Manner the Laws of *England* were in the *Old Norman French*, upon the coming in of *William*, called the Conqueror ; but afterwards the Proceedings of the Law were carried on in *Latin* till the Time of the *Grand Rebellion*, when they were rendered into *English* ; but no sooner did the *Restoration* take Place, than the Proceedings were

again carried on in *Latin*, which by Time was become as faulty as what *Varillas* had complained of. This induced the Parliament, the Beginning of his present Majesty King *George* 11d's Reign, to take the same into Consideration, and an Act soon after passed, “ That the Proceedings of the “ Courts of Justice in *England* “ should be carried on in *English*.”

with the general Consent of all the States of the Empire, “ That thenceforwards the *German Language* should be used in the Chancelleries, as well “ as in publick Contracts.”

*His Death
and Character.*

King *Francis* paid his Debt to Nature the last Day of *March*, and Magnificence and State attended him to his very Tomb ; his Funeral was made with extraordinary Pomp, no less than eleven Cardinals attending ; and was buried at *St. Dennis*. He never had, says *Miseray*, “ His Parallel in Liberality, “ in Magnificence and Clemency ; he would have been “ a great Prince in all Things, had he not suffered “ himself to be prepossessed by the evil Counsel of “ his Ministers, and his too great Passion towards “ Women.” *Voltaire* gives this Character of him and two of his Successors ; “ The many Failings of “ *Francis* the Ist will be excused for the Sake of “ the Arts and Sciences, of which he was the Father : Blest will be the Memory of *Henry* the IVth, “ who conquered his Kingdom, first by his Valour, “ and then by his Clemency ; the Generosity of “ *Lewis* the XIVth, in protecting these Arts, that “ had their Rise from *Francis*, will be ever applauded.”





*MEMOIRS of the EMPEROR
CHARLES the Vth.*



ERDINAND, Brother to *Charles the Vth*, was elected King of the *Romans* at *Cologne*, on the Eve of *Epiphany*, in the Year 1531, and on the 11th of *January* was with great Solemnity crowned with the Silver Crown of *Charlemain*, kept as a great Relick. After the Solemnity was over the Emperor used all his Endeavours to unite the *Christian* Princes in a League against *Soliman*, called the *Great Turk*, whose powerful Arms threatned all *Europe*.

In the Year 1532 *Soliman* entered *Hungary* with a mighty Army, which was so effectually opposed by the *Ger-*
mans, that the Enemy made no material Progress, but returned to *Constantinople*, and the Emperor set out for *Italy*: From whence, having settled his Affairs in that Country, he took his Way through *Pavia*, and came to *Genoa*, where he was entertained in the Palace of *Andrew Doria*. At the Isles of *Hieres* he was presented with fresh Provisions by the General of the *French Gallies*, and in *April*, he landed safe at *Barcelona*.

The Turks invade Hungary.
1532.

The Emperor lands in Spain.
1533.

The *French King* having married his Son, the Duke of *Orleans*, to *Catherine de Medicis*, the Pope's Niece, they had an Interview on the 6th of *October* 1533, at *Marseilles*. Every body judged this Interview would produce a bloody War, because the *French King* aimed at *Milan*, and the Pope at *Modena* and other Places; but the Emperor had no Mind to part with either of them; though, through his

40 MEMOIRS of the Emperor

his continual Cares and Toils, grown old, yet was now but 33 Years of Age.

Pope Clement
dies. 1534.

Paul the III^d
elected Pope.
1535.

On the 25th of *September*, 1534, died Pope Clement the VIIIth at *Rome*, and was succeeded the 4th of Oct. by the Cardinal *Fernesius*, who took the Name of *Paul* the III^d.

Soliman, the Great Turk, having ravaged the Coasts of *Italy*, and actually got Possession of *Tunis*, it induced the Emperor again to raise an Army, in order to oppose his Progress: Accordingly *Charles* went on board his Fleet with an Army of 20,000 Men, and landed in *Africa*, where he gave the Great Turk Battle, on the 26th of *July*, 1536, and obtained so signal a Victory, that he was enabled to restore the *Moorish* Prince to his Throne. Then he marched to *Tunis* in compleat Order of Battle, but greatly fatigued with Heat and Thirst. Some *Arabs* being discovered upon certain Hills from *Tunis*,* (the Army having halted to gather up all Stragglers) from which they could discover white Flags set up in the Castle; the Canon fired without Balls; no Enemy appeared, and no Man could guess at what they meant: But the Emperor proceeded with his Army to the Walls of the City, where he was met by some Citizens, who begged that the City might not be plundered, offering a great Sum of Money for a Ransom. It

The Emperor
beats the Enemy in Africa.
1536.

* The City of *Tunis* contained 10,000 Houses, and in them above 50,000 Inhabitants; it had three Suburbs, in one of which were 10,000 Inhabitants. The Gates were 40 in Number, though its Strength is but small, being six Miles in Compass, and for that Reason but indifferently walled or fortified. Its Situation is upon the Bay opposite to *Galeta*, and but three Leagues from it. It has

never a River, and only one Well, so that all the Houses are supplied by Cisterns. Corn is scarce by Reason of the Dryness of the Soil, and what they sow is watered by Trenches of Water drawn from Wells. There are two Palaces in the City, one old and the other new, and both well built; there are also 100 Mosques with five Towers each, the larger of which are very beautiful both within and without.

It was very difficult to restrain the Soldiers, who had suffered much, and the Emperor gave no Answer to the Request, but left the Soldiers to act at Discretion; who, finding the Gates shut, though no body offered any Opposition, broke them open, and fell immediately to work with such Cruelty, that they butchered above 10,000 Inhabitants without respect to Sex or Age. At last the Emperor went to the Castle, set the Captives at Liberty, and caused it to be proclaimed through the City, "That no Man, upon Pain of Death, should presume to kill or take any more *Moors*." Above 18,000 Captives were taken in *Tunis*, and were so cheap, that a Slave was sold for ten Ducats, and near 20,000 *Christians* were delivered out of Captivity.

Tunis plundered.

After the Emperor's Return from his Expedition to *Africa*, in the Year 1537, a War broke out between him and the King of *France*, and in the mean time the Emperor of the *Turks* turned his Arms against *Venice*, which was carried on with various Success on both Sides.

The Emperor returns to Europe.

1537.

This Year proved more peaceable than the former Years, through the Endeavours of Pope *Paul* the III^d, who used all his Interest to unite the *Christian* Princes against the *Infidels*, and had already entered into a League for that Purpose with the Emperor and the *Venetians*; but, to make it yet stronger, wanted the King of *France* to come into it; which in Time he accomplished, by prevailing upon *Charles* and *Francis* to sign a Truce for ten Years, and it was proclaimed at *Nice* the 18th of *June*.

Pope Paul endeavours to restore Peace.

1538.

This Year began with the Death of the Empress, (before which, besides a great Eclipse of the Sun on the 8th of *April*, there appeared in the *West* a Comet for

The Empress dies.

1539.

thirty

42 MEMOIRS of the Emperor

thirty Days successively) who fell sick at *Toledo*; being big with Child, was delivered of a dead Male Infant, and departed this Life in the 38th Year of her Age.

*The Emperor
passes from
Spain through
France.*

Notwithstanding the very great Difference between the Emperor and the King of *France* for several Years, even to be carried so far as to challenge to fight each other; and that nothing but the Death of the one or the other seemed any Way probable to reconcile them; yet, so liable to change are human Affairs, this very Emperor, before this Year expired, set out to pass into the *Low Countries* through *France*, taking only the *French* King's bare Word for his being well treated, which Journey the Emperor took on the following Occasion.

*A Rebellion
in Flanders.*

His Imperial Majesty was preparing to pass from *Spain* into *Italy* when News was brought him, that a Rebellion was broke out in *Ghent*, which made him alter his Resolution, and take a Journey for *Flanders* through *France*; many endeavoured to dissuade him from it, because of the Danger of putting himself in the Power of *Francis*; but, not regarding their Remonstrance, he set forward by the Post with a small Retinue.

*The Emperor
attended by the
Dauphin and
the Duke of
Orleans.*

Monfieur *Granville*, being sent before to advertise the King of his coming, he presently sent his two Sons, the Dauphin, and the Duke of *Orleans*, with the Constable *Montmorency*, to meet and conduct him. Some report, when the Duke of *Orleans* met the Emperor in *France*, he, laying his Hand on his Back, said, *Yield yourself a Prisoner*. To which the Emperor made no Answer, but embraced him.

*Meets King
Francis.*

In *January* the Emperor and the King of *France* met at *Chastel-Herault*, went thence to *Amboise*, where, the Hangings in the Emperor's Bed-chamber being set on fire, he had like

like to have been stifled. Then they removed to *Blois*, and thence to *Orleans*, where a Consultation was held about detaining the Emperor, which *Montmorency* exclaimed against, as a base Breach of Faith: But an Accident, or rather Contrivance, saved the Emperor. He being in Discourse with the Dutcheſs *D'Estampes*, who was in great Favour with the King, designedly let fall a Ring of a prodigious Value, which ſhe took up and offered him; but he refused to receive it, deſiring her to keep it in Memory of his paſſing through *France*. This Generoſity ſo obliged the Lady, that ſhe prevailed on the King not to detain him; ſo that we may ſay, *for once the French kept their Faith*. From *Orleans* the Emperor went to *Fountainbleau*, ſpent ſome Days there, and then proceeded to *Paris*, where he was received with the greateſt Magnificence imaginable. The King waited on the Emperor as far as *St. Quintin*, and the two Young Princes conducted him to *Valenciennes*, and there they took their Leave of him, who was highly pleaſed with the Honours done him in *France*. Upon his Arrival in *Flanders* he ſoon found the Means of quelling the Rebellion that had broke out at *Ghent*.

This Year the *Turks* and *Venetians* concluded a Peace. In *Sept.* Pope *Paul* confirmed the Order inſtituted by *St. Ignatius* of *Loyola*, commonly known by the Name of the *Society of Jeſus*, which was afterwards again confirmed by Pope *Julius* the III^d; the Founder whereof died in the Year 1556.

The Turks and Venetians conclude a Peace.

The Beginning of this Year the Emperor paſſed into *Germany*, and held a Diet at *Ratisbon*, wherein the principal Determination was, “ That Matters of Religion ſhould continue in the ſame Poſture they were

The Emperor paſſes into Germany.

1541.

“ in, till a General Council met, or till the next Diet,

44 MEMOIRS of the Emperor

“ which was to meet in eighteen Months.” After the Diet broke up the Emperor passed into *Italy*, and he met the Pope at *Lucca*, where he prepared for his Expedition to *Algiers*, and accordingly repaired on board his Fleet ; but a terrible Storm

Makes an unfortunate Expedition to Algiers.

arising, before he had landed his Stores and Provisions, it prevented his taking the City. In the Height of this Storm came his Fleet from *Spain*, all which, except some few great Ships, were cast away ; so that in a short Space above 150 Ships were lost ; yet some Horses and the Men were saved ; several Gallies also, having struggled all Night with the Tempest, in the Morning run themselves a-ground, where the *Arabs* killed the Men as they came on Shore. The Emperor took this Disappointment very patiently, being only heard to say, *Thy Will be done.*

Ferdinand Cortes, who conquered *Mexico*, was with the Emperor in this Expedition, and advised him to return into *Spain*, and leave him with the Army to take the City ; but the great Officers opposed it ; so that Orders were given to repair on board, and, that there might be more Room for the Men, so many Ships being lost, the Horses were ordered to be thrown into the Sea, which the Owners being unwilling to perform, the Emperor himself went from Ship to Ship to see it done. His Majesty going once towards the Sea, the Soldiers, thinking he would go on board and leave them, began to mutter ; but he, turning to them with a pleasant Countenance, said, *Do not fear, my Friends, I am not going ; I assure you, if any Body be left here, it shall be me ; for I will not stir till I see you all safe.* In fine, the Forces were all shipped off, and, after a troublesome Voyage, the Emperor landed safe at *Cartbagen*, where he was received with extraordinary Joy, all *Spain* being in great fear for him ; and thus ended this unhappy Expedition.

This

This Year was no sooner approached, but another War broke out between the Emperor and *France*, which continued for three Years, during which Time the *French* took and lost *Luxemburg*; and the Duke of *Cleve*, taking Part against the Emperor, lost his Dominions. During the War the Emperor first went into *Italy*, to take care of his Interest in that Country; then proceeded into *Germany*; and, on the 15th of *Nov.* 1543, married his only Son *Philip*, then sixteen Years of Age, to *Mary* Princess of *Portugal*, Daughter to King *John* the III^d, and *Catherine* the Emperor's Sister.

War between him and France.
1542.

His Son marries the Princess of Portugal.
1543.

In 1544 the Emperor held a Diet at *Spire*, where the *German* Electors came to a Resolution to assist the Emperor against the *Turks*; but the Consideration respecting Religion was deferred to a more convenient Opportunity, the Emperor having his Hands full of the *French* and *Turks*. However, he had the good Fortune to defeat the *French* in *Piedmont*; and then marched his Army in order to make the best of his Way to *Paris*. In the Course of this Progress he took several Places, and at length came within seventeen short Leagues of that City, which put the Citizens into so great a Consternation, that they begun to ship off their best Effects: This caused *Francis* to send 6000 Foot and 300 Horse to defend the City; yet he soon entered into a Treaty with the Emperor, and Peace was proclaimed at *Crespi*, which prevented the further Effusion of Blood on that Side.

A Diet at Spire.
1544.

The Emperor beats the French.

A Peace between him and France.

Whilst that Peace was concluding *Henry* the VIIIth and his Army were before *Bologn*, whither the Emperor sent to give him an Account of what he

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had done ; to whom *Henry* sent for Answer, “ That
 “ his *Imperial* Majesty might do for himself as he
 “ pleased, but, for his own Part, he intended to carry
 “ on the War.”

A French

*Officer put to
 Death for
 Cowardice.*

The Batteries raised against *Bologn*
 so terrified the Governor, that he basely
 surrendred the Place without standing
 an Assault, for which he afterwards lost
 his Head at *Paris*.

The Marshal *de Biez*, who had thrown himself into
Montrueill, made a better Defence, and the Duke of
Norfolk, who had besieged him, fearing the *French* Ar-
 my might obstruct his rejoining the King, drew off and
 returned to the main Army. Then *Henry*, having
 left *Bologn* well provided for Defence, returned to
Calais, and thence soon set sail for *England* : And the
 Emperor, having put an End to the War, spent
 the Winter at *Brussels*.

1545. The Year 1545 was the quietest *Charles*
 the Vth enjoyed in the whole Course of his
 Reign; for King *Francis*, tired with continual Wars,
 and Age coming on him, strictly observed the Peace
 lately concluded ; and the King of *England*, satisfied
 with the taking of *Bologn*, peaceably remained in his
 own Kingdom ; so that there was no more War
 between these three Monarchs during the Remainder
 of their respective Lives.

*The Emperor
 turned his
 Arms against
 the Luthe-
 rans.*

1546.

*A Rebellion in
 Naples.*

1547.

The Emperor next commenced a War
 against the *Lutherans*, which was carried
 on in the Year 1546, and at last ended
 in his Favour. In this Year died the
 King of *England*, who was succeeded by
 his Son *Edward*.
 This Year was ushered in with a Rebel-
 lion breaking out in *Naples*, which, with
 Difficulty, was afterwards suppressed. On
 the 30th of *March* the *French* King died, and was
 succeeded by his Son *Henry*.

On

On the 10th of Nov. died Pope *Paul the III^d*, and was succeeded by *John Maria*, Cardinal *de Monte*, a most virtuous Man, who took the Name of *Julius the III^d*.

Paul the III^d dies, and is succeeded by Julius the III^d. 1548.

In short, the Emperor was no sooner rid of one War, but he was engaged in another, to the Time he abdicated the Throne. And Historians say of him in general, that he was a Bigot in Religion, but otherwise a Prince of great Wisdom and Penetration, and, to shew he was a Prince of Humour, they relate some of his Determinations and Adventures, particularly his deciding a Controversy between two great Ladies in Point of Ceremony after the following Manner.

The Emperor continually at War.

Madam *de Berg* and Madam *de Brederode*, who had quarrelled in the Church for Precedency, brought their Cause to be tried before the Council of State, where, in Consideration of the great Quality of both Parties, they were declared equal; but, not being satisfied, appealed to the Emperor's Judgment, who, to humble their Pride, gave Sentence in these Words, *Let the maddest go foremost, or, the greatest Fool go first.* To this give us leave to add two of his pleasant Adventures.

He determines a Suit very merrily.

First, Being eager in the Pursuit of a Stag, he lost his Company, and killed the Stag two Miles from *Madrid*; when an old Country Fellow happened to come by with an Ass and a Load of Wood, he offered to give him more than the Wood was worth, if he would carry the Stag to *Madrid*; and the Countryman merrily answered, *By the Lord, Friend, I believe you're a Fool; you see the Stag is heavier than the Ass and the Wood together, and yet you would have the poor Ass carry him; it were better that you, who are a young lusty Fellow, should carry them both.*

Two odd Adventures that befel the Emperor.

The

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The Emperor was pleased with the Reply, and, whilst he waited for his Company, fell into Discourse with the old Man, asking him, *How many Kings he had known?* The Peasant answered, *I have lived under five Kings, John, his Son Henry, King Ferdinand, King Philip, and this Charles.*—*Which of them, Father, says the Emperor, was the best, and which the worst?*—*There is no Doubt to be made,* replied the old Man, *but Ferdinand was the best; and who the worst, I shan't say; but he we have now is bad enough, always rambling to Italy, Germany, and Flanders, carrying all the Money out of Spain; and, though his Revenues are great enough to conquer the World, yet he is always laying new Taxes; so that we poor Countrymen are quite beggared.* The Emperor, finding the Fellow was in earnest, began to plead his own Cause, the best he could without discovering himself, till his Company came up; when the Countryman, seeing the Respect they shewed him, said, *It were pleasant, if it should prove to be the King, but had I known it, I should have said much more:* And the Emperor was so far from being displeased with the Discourse, that he gave the old Man a Sum of Money, and settled a Portion on his Daughter.

Second, His Imperial Majesty another Time, losing himself a hunting, came after Midnight to a little Village, almost starved with Cold, and, knocking up the Curate, desired he would let him go into his warm Bed, roast him a Pullet, get him some good Wine, and he would pay well for it. The Curate was contented, but asked for Money to send for the Wine and Pullet, because he had none himself. The Emperor told him he had none about him, but his Man would come in the Morning and pay all Expence. Neither having Money, the Curate sent out upon Trust, gave him his warm Bed, prepared the Refreshment, and accommodated him as well as he could; for all
which

which he was well paid: But the Emperor resolved never to go without Money afterwards.

This Emperor, though he met with such Success, and was possessed of so large Dominions, in the Year 1556, voluntarily resigned his Crowns to his Brother and Son, and retired into a Monastery of Monks of the Order of St. Jerome. In the former Part of his Life, we beheld him environed with the Glory, Wealth, and Power of the World; here we see him in his Monastery, poor, humble, solitary, sickly, and forsaken by his own Consent.

The Emperor resigns his Dominions to his Son. 1556.

The Monastery of *Juste*, Monks of St. Jerome, to which his Imperial Majesty withdrew himself, is in a solitary but pleasant Place, seven Leagues from *Valencia*; the nearest Town, called *Coacos*, containing 500 Houses, is within a Quarter of a League of it, and yet not seen from it, by reason of a Hill that rises between them.

Retires to a Monastery.

The Emperor lived here in so mean a Manner, that only the Room he lay in was hung with some old black Cloth; and in it he had only a one-armed decayed * Chair; his Habit always black, tho' indifferent; he had indeed a little Silver Plate, but it was quite plain. It is said, in the Exercises of Prayers, Reading, and Meditation, he far out-did the most of his religious Function. He said the Divine Office; and,

His Manner of living there in a mean State.

* So that we here see the Emperor at last in as low a Condition (tho' with this Difference, by his own Consent) as Cardinal *Wolsey* was reduced to; and likewise spent the last Days of his Life, in as edifying and penitential a Manner as that great Prelate had done before him. As to the experienced, thinking Part of Man-

kind, they often rightly consider the Instability of human Affairs; which the other Part, the arrogant Favourites of Fortune, as often forget. Let them therefore gaze on these Pictures, and reflect what their Greatness at last may come to, and then it is hoped their usual Vanity will abate.

and, if Sickness obstructed, his Confessor said it in his Presence. Upon all Holidays he heard High Mass, and every Day Low Mass: Tho' he was not able to rise, he had a Sermon after Dinner, and when that failed a Lesson was read to him out of *St. Augustin*. He loved Musick, and had an excellent Ear, yet would have none but the Friars to sing in the Choir. His Zeal for Religion was so great, that, being told of the apprehending of *Cazalla*, and other Hereticks, he said, *Nothing could draw him out of a Monastery, unless there was need of him to oppose them*. He would never hear the Arguments of the *Lutherans*, whom he called *Hereticks*, saying, *he was no Scholar, therefore they might instil some Errors into him, which would be afterwards hard to remove*.

In this Manner the Emperor spent the Remainder of his Life; his last Hours drew on, the Gout had left him for several Days, the Ague took him, and, by degrees growing worse, about two o' Clock in the Morning, when all was very still, he said, *It is now Time*; but, though he was so spent, four Men without Difficulty could not stir him in his Bed, yet he turned upon his Side as readily as if he had ailed nothing: Taking the Crucifix in one Hand, and the Candle in the other, he continued a while looking on the Crucifix without speaking a Word, but then, with a Voice so loud that it could be heard in the other Room, he say'd, *O JESUS!* and gave up the Ghost. He died on the 21st of *Sept.*

His Death and Burial. 1558. 1558, aged 59 Years and five Months, having reigned 43 Years and been Emperor 38. His Body was put into a Leaden Coffin; then into one of Chestnut Tree Planks, and was buried under the High Altar at the Monastery, where he died.



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Threatning, to prevail on him to aid in concluding the Affair of the Divorce according to the King's Mind, without having any Regard to the Orders of the Court of *Rome*; but he positively refused to intermeddle any further in the Affair: Therefore his Majesty, finding him inflexible, determined his entire Ruin, as the Sequel shews.

The Cardinal, not yet being acquainted with this extraordinary Resolution, continued to employ his Time agreeable to his Function. The Clergy of the Cathedral Church of *York*, consistent with their Duty and Good-liking, attended him, who treated them with a Respect that shewed their sacred Relation, declaring, "The most special Cause of his Coming was to be among them, not only as a religious Brother, but as a Father." This kind Treatment was most dutifully received, and, in communing with his Grace, they begged, "That he would come to the Cathedral at *York* to be installed, according to the Custom of his Predecessors." He took Time to consider of this, and at last consented to it; but insisted, "It should be done without that great Shew and Pomp practised heretofore, because the Misfortunes he had met with had sufficiently weaned him from the Grandeur of the World."

The Clergy of York attend the Cardinal.

The *Monday* next after *All-Saints* Day was appointed for his Installment, and, contrary to the Cardinal's Knowledge or Desire, great Preparations were made at *York*, in order to receive him into that City in a Manner equal to his high Dignity, the Abbots, Priors, and neighbouring Gentlemen of the Country, sent in all Sorts of Provisions; so that, the Week before the intended Ceremony, every Thing was got ready for his Reception: But the preceding *Sunday* an Accident happened, which gave the Cardi-

Prepares for his Installment at York.

nal some Uneasiness. Being at Dinner, surrounded with his Chaplains and the rest of his Attendants, Dr. *Augustine*, a *Physician*, cloathed with a heavy Velvet Gown, in arising up, pushed against the Cardinal's Silver Cross, placed at the Corner of the Table, which fell so heavy upon Dr. *Bonner's* Head, one of the Chaplains, that the Blood came trickling down his Shoulder. Upon this the Cardinal, im-

An ill Omen. immediately retired to his Chamber, and, shaking his Head, said, *I do not like this Omen.**

It was observed afterwards, *That, about the same Hour*
Sir Walter *as this happened at Cawood, Sir Walter*
Walsh sets out *Walsh, Knt. one of the Gentlemen of the*
for the North. *King's Bed-chamber, set out from Court*
to attend the Lord Percy, who became Earl of Nor-
thumberland upon his Father's Death, and they were
directed jointly to arrest the Cardinal upon a new Accusa-
tion of High Treason; and this Matter was transacted so privately, that neither Master *Cromwell*, nor any other of the Cardinal's particular Friends, had the least Intelligence of it.

Sir Walter Walsh, upon his Arrival in the North, communicated his Instructions to the Earl of *Northumberland*, who very readily accepted of this extraordinary Trust; thereupon he and *Sir Walter* repaired to *Cawood* to put their Commission in Execution, and came to the Cardinal's Seat, the *Friday* in the Afternoon before the intended Installment, attended by several Horsemen.

The Earl and *Sir Walter* on their Arrival first went into the Hall, and demanded the Keys of the Palace from the Porter, who refusing to deliver them with-

* This he expounded in the following Manner :

The Cross represented his Person ; Dr. Augustine, who threw it down, he suspected to be one of

his Enemies, and an Informer ; Dr. Bonner's (the Master of the Faculties) being wounded imported, that his Power was at an End, and that Death would quickly ensue,

without his Master's Order, to prevent any further Disturbance, they contented themselves with taking an Oath from the faithful Porter, "That no Person should go out or come in at the Gates until he received further Orders." The Cardinal all this while remained ignorant of what passed below, Care being taken that no one should go up to inform him; but at last one of the Servants found Means to acquaint his Master, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was in the Hall, who, *harmlessly* taking it to be only a friendly Visit, immediately rose from Table, and, they meeting on the Top of the Stairs, mutually embraced; but the *ungrateful, guilty* Earl, trembling, said, I arrest you of High Treason. Upon this the Cardinal demanded to see his Authority; for he could not at first be persuaded, that a Nobleman, who had been educated in his Family, and so kindly used by him, could have been prevailed on to *execute so unthankful an Office.* * The Earl refusing to shew his Commission, *Wolsey* with great Presence of Mind replied, *I will not then submit to your Arrest*; but, whilst they were debating together, Sir *Walter Walsh* came up Stairs, whom the Cardinal knew, and, he repeating what the Earl had before said, his Eminence readily surrendered himself to him; for, as he was one of the Bed-chamber,

Earl of Northumberland arrests Wolsey of High Treason.

* We can with Pleasure say, that in our Time we had an Instance of a very contrary Conduct, in an honourable Gentleman now in high Station, (when an *Impeachment* was exhibited in Parliament against a noble Lord, and a *Chancellor* too, on a Charge of *High Crimes and Misdemeanours*) who, among other Members of the House of Commons, was proposed to be one of the *Managers* to carry on the Prosecution; but, instead of *eagerly accepting the*

Trust, he publickly declared the great Obligations he was under to the unhappy Lord, and begged Leave to decline it; being, doubtless, rather under a Concern, that there was any Occasion for an Enquiry of that Sort, than *officious* to be concerned in it. — An Example most worthy of Imitation, and which we hope will not soon be forgotten; and that it might not be so was the chief Motive of our making this *Memento*.

ber, he had Power, as it was then held, by a verbal Order only, to arrest the greatest Peer of the Realm.

Is in Custody. His Grace being now in Custody,*

Saturday was spent in packing up some of his Effects, and preparing for his Journey; but, as soon as the Country People were informed of what the Earl and *Walsh* had been doing, the Palace was surrounded by a great Number of Persons, who made the Air ring with repeated Cries, *May the foul Evil overtake them, who are taking him from us!* And there they continued waiting, in order to see the Cardinal carried away, that they might take their mournful Farewel of him, which gave *Northumberland* and the Knight no little Uneasiness.

Sets out for London. On *Sunday*, the 1st of *Nov.* early in the Morning, he proceeded on his Journey towards *London*. As soon as he came out of his Gate the

* This base Transaction shews what Height of Rancour reigned in the Hearts of his embittered Foes, and the Meanness of Soul they had reduced *Henry* the VIIIth to; especially if we consider, that this worthy Prelate was peaceably retired to serve God and his Flock, from the vain Poms and Deceits of a most corrupted, fallen Court, and troubled not his Head with any of their Affairs; yet even here his Enemies could not help envying his Happiness: For the Repose of this now inoffensive Man, forsooth, they must disturb; and what then? why arrest and take him into Custody, upon no less a Charge than *High Treason*, although the King had, no longer than the Month of *February* before, granted him as ample and full Pardon, for all supposed Crimes, which Lord *Coke* admits was penned as learnedly and largely as the Wit of

Man could devise. In Fact, the Cardinal's noble and commendable Behaviour, from the Time of his Retreat to his being arrested, no way bespeaks Guilt; had it been otherwise, we are of Opinion, if he had given the Word to his Domesticks, and the Country about him, both the Earl and the Knight would have found it no easy Matter to have carried him away in Custody: He was conscious of his own Innocence, and therefore quietly submitted. But, happy for us, it is not so in our Days! How many great Men have we seen, who have given Disgust, or at least been disapproved of, that have been suffered not only to retire in Peace, but so to remain; nay, such has been the prevailing Prudence and Clemency, some of them have been recalled, and afterwards filled high Stations with great Applause.



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The History Of The Life And Times Of Cardinal Wolsey Prime Minister to
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Bd.: 4

London 1744

Biogr. 1254 ka-4

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10068078-8